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# A Question of Colour





# A Question of Colour

## A Study of South Africa

"The duty of our race in South Africa is to govern the subject people in justice and right. Then may we endure in the land; then we may hope to found a permanent civilisation. That is what I say is necessary for you all to set before you as a high ideal. It is more necessary in this country than in any other part of the British Empire."—JOHN X. MERRIMAN.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS

EDINBURGH AND LONDON

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## N O T E.

THE writer wishes to acknowledge the courteous assistance received from many friends of South Africa, and gratefully records the loan of certain Blue-Books from the Agent-General for the Cape of Good Hope.

In a book which is a setting forth of facts, not an expression of opinions, the authorship is immaterial. But it may be well to state that the writer of these pages is neither a missionary nor in any way connected with the religious methods employed by various Christian bodies in South Africa. The view given here claims to be the result of purely independent research and observation.

*October 1906.*



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# A QUESTION OF COLOUR.

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## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTORY.

AT the Bloemfontein Conference in March 1903 the following resolution was passed:—

That in view of the coming Federation of South African Colonies, it is desirable that a South African Commission be constituted to gather accurate information on certain affairs relating to the natives and native administration, and to offer recommendations to the several Governments concerned, with the object of arriving at a common understanding on questions of native policy; such Commission to consist of two representatives from each of the Colonies, and one each from Rhodesia and Basutoland, with the addition of a chairman to be nominated by the High Commissioner.

The result of this Commission was set forth in a Report, published in Cape Town



in 1905; but as Blue-Books are not yet on the lists of Mudie or Smith, nor have they found their way into the newspaper libraries, there is much connected with the South African Commission of which the British public knows little, important as it is just now in order to form a right opinion of matters affecting our policy out there.

Every one is familiar with the fallacy, "It must be true, because it is in print," and though insensibly most persons are influenced by what they read, only the ignorant give credence to all that is printed without due regard to the authority of the writer. But with respect to Blue-Books it may well be said, "Because it is true it is in print"; for the aim of a Government Report is to present facts in a concise form, and from the consideration of these facts to formulate a policy adapted in every particular to meet existing needs and relieve actual grievances.

So an official report on South African native affairs does not represent an individual expression of opinion, reflecting the politics of the party in power, but it is

the carefully digested evidence of those who, having studied native customs and character for many years, have the most right to speak—the chiefs, resident magistrates, missionaries, judges, and others; and here the natives make their voice heard, and as long ago as 1881 the Fingoes of Peddie said, “Stop the canteens; that is where our misfortunes come from.”

We approach the subject of South Africa with the belief that little regard is paid to the ancient traditions of the native races, and at once we are met with the Government's mind on the matter, if we are among the happy few who read Blue-Books, which entirely upsets our preconceived notions. We feel, with the German pastor in ‘The Benefactress,’ that noble ideas have been nobly expressed, and in order that nothing may be lost we quote what the Report says of representation :—

Under their ancient tribal system the native people were not without representation, and the wishes of the tribe at all times played an important part in guiding the policy of the chief's government.

With the exception of the military autocracies established over the Zulus by Tshaka, over the Matabele by Umzilikazi, and by Umswazi in Swaziland, the rule of native chiefs in South Africa was *not* so irresponsible as it is generally believed to have been. Their will was tempered, and to a very large extent controlled, by a council so weighty and influential that no step of serious tribal importance was taken until the whole matter had been discussed by it at length. This Council consisted of advisers of the chief, generally spoken of as councillors. Certainly they were such, but they were much more: they were the direct representatives of the people's wish, and in the very considerable freedom of speech permitted to them at their gatherings, the popular voice found means of expression. A councillor was not formally appointed, simply becoming such as his opinions at the public gatherings increased in weight, and as he acquired popular influence he grew to be accepted more and more as representative of a section of the tribe. It might be courage and warlike achievements, wealth, skill in public debate, penetration in unravelling the intricate windings of native lawsuits, or other personal attributes which made him a representative and public man. At their homes the councillors were recognised as arbitrators in civil disputes. A few of them were always to be found at the Great Place, where they largely relieved the chief of the burden of judicial cross-questionings and assisted him in the executive, fulfilling many of the duties of ministers under more advanced forms of government. There was, of course, no form of election,

but sufficient has been said to show that the Council was distinctly representative of the people's voice. No sooner did any matter of concern to the tribe arise than the councillors were summoned, no important action being taken until it had been fully discussed in all its bearings.

As European government superseded that of the chiefs, the old machinery fell into disuse, save perhaps in Basutoland, where, under a new name, the National Council, presided over by the Resident Commissioner, maintains to a large extent the tradition of the past. Councils still meet under the presidency of chiefs in British Bechuanaland and the Protectorate, and affairs of minor importance are decided by them.

The present position in South Africa cannot be considered as a whole without regard to the various forms of government obtaining in the several Colonies and Possessions. These are:—

Cape Colony . . .	}	Self-governing Colonies.
Natal . . . .		
Southern Rhodesia	{	Royal Charter, with Legislature, partly elective.
Transvaal . . . .		
Orange River Colony	{	Crown Colonies.
Basutoland . . .		
Bechuanaland . .	{	Protectorates.
(Protectorate.)		

In Basutoland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate the natives have not been disturbed in their tribal form of government, though legislative power is

removed from the chiefs and centred in the High Commissioner. In these Territories, as in the Crown Colonies, the natives have a useful chain of communication with the supreme authority, through the officers appointed to manage them, and conduct affairs relating to them. Generally speaking, these officers consist of commissioners, magistrates, and others. In Basutoland, however, a further means of ascertaining the opinions of the people is provided in the Council already referred to, consisting of 100 selected native representatives.

In the Crown Colonies there is a member of the Executive Council responsible for native affairs. In Natal, Transvaal, and Rhodesia the Governor or Administrator is supreme chief.

The Commission is satisfied that in the Crown Colonies and in the Protectorates above mentioned the interests of the natives are safeguarded.

But side by side with this picture of justice, calm and grand, rises another picture, true, and sad because it is true; the scene is in Kafirland, and the time is a few months before the late war.

A lady, fresh from England, lay in a deck-chair on the stoep of a small house, and round her, in picturesque semicircle, stood a stalwart band of headmen.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An induna is called a headman when he is in his own district, and an induna when he is at the military kraal.—*Cetewayo*.

Now the lady was great of stature, and the Africans had reasoned in this wise: "The greatest woman in the world is our Great Mother the Queen. She dwells in England; and this great white princess who has come to see us must be one of her family by reason of her stature," so they approached her by an interpreter, and these were the words they spoke:—

"O great princess, of whose coming we have heard so much, it is indeed a pleasure to us to welcome you to our land." And when the lady's platitude was translated in reply, the oldest headman burst forth:—

"Has not the presence of the great princess already brought a blessing? for, lo! it rains."

The princess, unused in English society to these delicate compliments, might have felt embarrassed had not her host suggested that an occasional "Ewe" was all the response needed, and then one by one her visitors put his case before her. For when relatives of reigning sovereigns come to a land where grievances appear to be un-

noticed, it is a great thing to state the grievance plainly.

So the men spoke at length; what they said once they repeated, and having said it twice, it was easier to enforce a third time. Perhaps they were wise, for their words ring in the ears of the white princess to this day:—

“When you get home, will you tell England’s Queen and England’s people that we have no rights? It is nothing in your sight that we are orderly, that we are civilised, that we are even Christian. We are all treated alike. Alas! for us, too often your people have made the land of our birth become to us a land of tears.”

These words were remembered by the white princess when she came home, remembered most of all when, in the bright sunshine of a winter day, she stood near the gates of Osborne, and a great silence, unknown before, had crept over the whole world; remembered when the thin skirling of the pipes gave voice to an Empire’s sorrow and broke through the British reserve and unloosed the pent-up grief.

But England's Queen had passed beyond the cry of her dusky sons to a land where tears are wiped away, and it was too late to deliver the headmen's message, though it is never too late to right wrongs or to try to understand what is amiss.

It will be well to go back a little, and we find that in 1881 a Government Commission, working on the same lines, drew up a report on which much that has since taken place has been based; and again we read sentiments so admirable, having the welfare of the natives so much at heart, that did there but exist a society for the translation and distribution of Blue-Books among Kafirs, we might hope that the present dissatisfaction in South Africa would die away. We turn over page after page, and learn with glad certainty that native interests have not been ignored.

One passage is taken out of many written in the same spirit:—

We recognise that institutions which have become rooted in the social and national life of any people are not easily overthrown by direct enact-



ment. They are never so overthrown unless there is a preparation of opinion, and a certain willingness on the part of the people to accept such changes, or unless the Government promulgating such enactments is in possession of sufficient force to give effect to these laws, and is also satisfied both as to the justice and necessity of using such force. None of these conditions exist at the present moment. And there can be no difficulty in finding an illustration of the danger of passing enactments without the necessary power or force to give them effect. Among the native people of this country also, there does not exist, to any extent, the means of diffusing information by the help of the press, and they can only be reached through the magistrates and missionaries.

Sir Theophilus Shepstone went even farther, and pointed out the beneficial effects of a policy which did not anticipate the wishes of the people in amendments of existing laws, but aimed at following their wishes with regard to them. It is a marked feature in the Kafir character that if matters in dispute can be well talked over, changes can be made with less fear of opposition or of exciting disaffection than if these changes are thrust on the people.

The art of discussion is one that has long

been practised in Kafirland, and the gifts of the people in this respect are really remarkable. Acting on this suggestion, the Commission recommended that this national characteristic, instead of being repressed, should be utilised in the government of the Territories.

It would be an advantage [said Sir Theophilus Shepstone] if meetings of chiefs and headmen were held to discuss with the Secretary for Native Affairs any change in the law or administration contemplated by the Government.

The resolution adopted by the Commission on this subject provides for the constitution of a Territorial Native Council, having power only to suggest or initiate alterations of the law for the consideration of Government.

History repeats itself, for we find that the Commission, which should have met early in the year 1881, was postponed on account of the disturbed state of many parts of the natives territories, arising from the war in Basutoland and in parts of Tembuland and Griqualand East; but when the sittings were held at the chief frontier towns in the

Transkei and Tembuland, the witnesses examined included officials, missionaries, gentlemen with considerable knowledge of native tribes, besides chiefs, headmen, and other representatives of the native communities, who described their traditional laws and usages, and intelligently stated their views with regard to suggested legislation upon them.

The Kafir race, to use a popular term, comprises the several divisions of the Xosa and Tembu tribes, with their respective branches and connections, as well the Bomvana, Pandomise, Baca, and Xesibe, and the broken clans of Natal and Zulu origin, now collectively known as the Fingoes: and these are the people to whose circumstances special attention was given by the Commission. Perhaps in order rightly to understand what follows, it will be well to see by what method the Kafir law, as it was known in 1881, has been evolved.

Among the Kafirs a system of law has for generations past been uniformly recognised and administered. Although an "un-

written law," its principles and practice were widely understood, being mainly founded upon customary precedents, embodying the decisions of chiefs and councils of former days, handed down by oral tradition, and treasured in the memories of the people. This law took cognisance of certain crimes and offences; it enforced certain civil rights and obligations; it provided for the validity of polygamic marriages; and it secured succession to property and inheritance, according to simple and well-defined rules. The system was to a great extent created by and adapted to the conditions of a primitive barbaric life; and in some respects it was not unlike that which prevailed among our Saxon ancestors in the early days of civilisation. But intermixed with it were a number of pernicious and degrading usages and superstitious beliefs, as well as a course of judicial procedure in cases of the alleged offence of sorcery or witchcraft, utterly subversive of justice, and repugnant to the general principles of humanity.

The first attempt at modifying this *Kafir*

law was made by Governor Sir Benjamin Durban, at the close of the Kafir war in 1835. By treaties of peace, then concluded with the several chiefs of tribes occupying the territory between the Keiskamma and the Great Kei Rivers, they and their people were declared to be accepted as British subjects, retaining possession of their own lands and locations, but governed and controlled by colonial law and authority. The officers who were appointed as Resident Government Agents among them were, however, instructed that the only criminal matters to be judged and dealt with by British laws were treason, murder, violence, setting fire to houses or property, and theft.

The practice of witchcraft was forbidden, under penalty of severe punishment, but all minor offences, as well as civil suits and matters relating to the domestic and internal regulations of their tribes and families, were left to be determined by themselves according to native law and custom. At this time it appears to have been in contemplation to frame a simple code, which

would work progressively from the Kafir up to the British law, but no opportunity was afforded of carrying this intention into effect, as the British Government speedily reversed the policy initiated by Sir Benjamin Durban, and decided to recede from the conquered territory eastward of the Great Fish River.

At this point the captious critic might be led to wonder why England places her representative in her foreign dominions, if, as soon as he has mastered the situation and learnt the needs of the country, it is to be shown to the world at large that he does not represent England, and that residence in Downing Street is the only mode calculated to bestow infallibility in dealing with native questions. But the captious critic has long ceased to wonder at anything he sees in South Africa, and he remembers the games of his childhood, when, in a tight corner, he joyfully proclaimed, "I have invented a new rule," and so got free.

In 1836 new treaties were entered into by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony,

with the several chiefs of the Kafir and Fingo tribes then living eastward of the Great Fish River, acknowledging their independence within the respective territories occupied by them, with the "full and entire right to adopt, or adhere to their own laws, or any other laws which they might see fit to substitute," subject, however, to the condition that ministers and teachers of the Christian religion, and all British subjects sojourning in their territories, should not be molested in any way upon the plea of the native laws instituted against witchcraft.

Some modifications of these treaties were mutually agreed to in 1840, and afterwards in 1845; and Governor Sir Peregrine Maitland secured for all classes of native converts to Christianity in Kafirland the liberty to settle at missionary villages or institutions, and freedom from interference for refusing to comply with the Kafir customs. But the country was in an unsettled state, and in 1846 the "War of the Axe" broke out, and was prolonged till near the close of the following year, when the chiefs and tribes

who had taken up arms finally made their submission.

Governor Sir Harry Smith, acting upon instructions given to his predecessors and himself by the Imperial Government, then issued a proclamation, dated December 23, 1847, declaring all the treaties and conventions previously subsisting to be abrogated and annulled, and the sovereignty of her Majesty the Queen extended as far as the Great Kei River. The portion of territory between the Keiskamma River and the Great Kei River was created a separate province, and received the name of "British Kaffraria" (familiarly known out there as Kafirland), and the Kafir chiefs and people inhabiting it were declared to be subject to "such rules and regulations as her Majesty's High Commissioner should deem best calculated to promote their civilisation, conversion to Christianity, and general enlightenment."

At the same time the civil administration of this new province was placed in the hands of a military officer, who was appointed Chief Commissioner of Kaffraria, and subordinate to



him were assistant commissioners, acting as magistrates, advisers, and arbitrators among the several tribes. The reasonable exercise of the chief's authority over the members of their tribes was permitted and supported; but all their acts and decisions were liable to review, and, if found inconsistent with justice and humanity, were subject to be reversed by the commissioners placed over them.

From 1850 until 1853, war again broke out, and then came one of those changes of policy so inexplicable in South Africa. Governor Sir George Cathcart treated British Kaffraria "as a conquered territory in military occupation," and in a despatch, dated September 13, 1853, addressed to the Duke of Newcastle, laid down the following expressed principles for regulating its government :—

That colonists be restricted to their well-defined limits on the one hand, and Kafirs not prematurely annexed to the colony and subjected to colonial laws or control, but as recognised British subjects, under Imperial rule, allowed to be governed as to their interior discipline by their own chiefs, according to their existing laws, and retaining the

usages to which they have been accustomed, until, through intercourse with European commerce and education, the gradual work of civilisation shall remove those bad practices which are most objectionable.

More than fifty years after these words were written we read them in the sad light of experience, knowing too well all that intercourse with European commerce has brought the Kafirs.

The chiefs were held responsible and under command for the good behaviour of their people, but they were conceded the right of ruling them after their own manner, according to native laws and customs, and the Government commissioners placed among them took the position of political agents, without any of the magisterial authority previously held by them.

In 1855 Sir George Grey, who succeeded Sir George Cathcart as Governor, effected an important change in the administration of justice among the natives. His reasons for this change he stated to the Home Government, and, briefly put, the system which he

found existing was that the native chiefs derived a considerable revenue from what might be termed the fines and fees of the courts of justice,—thus exercising sovereignty by appropriating to themselves what should have been a part of the public revenue.

To remedy this state of things, Sir G. Grey, as her Majesty's High Commissioner, offered to pay the chiefs and their principal councillors certain fixed monthly stipends, in lieu of the fines and fees they formerly received, and in consideration of their voluntarily relinquishing the authority conceded to them by Sir George Cathcart. The Chief Commissioner of Kaffraria, Colonel Maclean, was averse to attempting to carry out such a measure, regarding it as likely, sooner or later, to be hazardous to the peace of the country; but Sir George Grey persisted, and finally the chiefs were induced, one by one, to accept his proposals. They were now permitted to continue to hear all cases brought before them by their people, but they were to be assisted in their deliberations and decisions by European magistrates, who were

to be placed with them; and all fines and fees imposed for public offences became a part of the revenue of the Crown as in other countries.

The introduction of this system provided the nucleus of a machinery which was soon afterwards expanded and extended for the supervision and control of the several tribes in British Kaffraria. Building upon the foundations found ready to hand, the location of each chief was divided into districts under headmen, and sub-districts under assistant headmen, who were paid by the Crown. These men were answerable for the good order of their kraals, for the detection of robberies, for the restoration of stolen property, the apprehension of thieves, the transmission of messages sent to them, and generally for the performance of all instructions relating to the maintenance of tranquillity. They were immediately responsible to their own chiefs, but ultimately to the European magistrates, who were their paymasters, and who supervised their conduct by periodical tours of inspection of the kraals under their charge.

The magistrates, in the performance of their duties, were also required to exercise as far as possible a good influence upon the people under their jurisdiction, by encouraging them to adopt habits of industry, to wear decent clothing, to take up European habits and customs, and to acquire some education. In the administration of justice they were directed to give their decisions, jointly with the chiefs, "according to equity and good conscience,"—at the commencement deviating from Kafir precedent only so much as might be necessary to attain this; but keeping in view that the law should by degrees ultimately merge into that of the Cape Colony, so modified as to suit the state of the native population. By these measures a considerable portion of the natives were gradually won over in favour of British laws and interests; but to the majority of the members of the Kaffrarian tribes, the restraints of that law of advancing civilisation continued to be unacceptable, and notwithstanding the presence of magistrates among them, they brought their cases to their chiefs and in-

fluent headmen, who from time to time heard and arbitrated in civil suits and other matters, although they had no power to resort to compulsion in settling any of them.

In 1860, upon the publication of the letters patent constituting British Kaffraria a separate dependency of the Crown, all the proclamations and regulations previously issued by the High Commissioner were continued in force in that territory, and declared to be subject to abrogation and alteration by legislative enactment only. The prevailing Kafir custom of polygamy, and the giving of cattle for wives, appears to have been under the consideration of the local Government about this period, and the Lieutenant-Governor issued special instructions to the special magistrates to refuse to entertain in their courts any case in which cattle or other property was claimed on account of a wife deserting her husband, and to leave the matter entirely to the natives themselves for settlement, as it was one of which a magistrate under her Majesty's Government could no longer take any official

cognisance. But doubts having arisen with regard to the legal operation of such instructions, the Lieutenant-Governor shortly afterwards entirely cancelled the same, and directed the special magistrates to deal with native dowry (*ikazi*) cases exactly as they would have done if these instructions had not been issued.

By the incorporation of British Kaffraria with the Cape Colony, the large body of natives, together with the European population then comprehended within the limits of that dependency, were brought within the pale of Cape Colonial law, although no adequate machinery was provided for giving effect to this in so far as its application to the natives was concerned. Subsequently, when the neighbouring territories of Transkei and Griqualand East were annexed, provision was made by proclamation, in 1879, for the administration within these territories of the laws in force in the Colony, both in regard to criminal and civil matters, with the exception that where all the parties in civil suits and proceedings were natives the cases

should be dealt with according to native law.

It was, however, fully brought out in evidence before the Commission that in several of the frontier districts the mass of the inhabitants of the native locations, although legally subject to Colonial law, were only nominally so; and to a very considerable extent they were still actually under their own traditional laws and usages, to which they appeared to be attached by habit and familiarity, as well as by the fact that their mode of procedure was simple and inexpensive.

In the divisions of King William's Town and Queen's Town more particularly, the special magistrates and superintendents of natives, without any judicial authority under statute, continued to administer customary native law; and in some locations and villages the native headmen dealt with petty cases and disputes brought before them for arbitration and settlement, although there was no provision whatever for the enforcement of their decisions. This was the condition of things which the Commission found



existing within the Colony at the time of its appointment.

In the Transkei and Griqualand East, as well as in Gealekaland and Bomvanaland, many cases were adjudicated according to native law; while in Tembuland the chief magistrate had been entirely guided by native law and custom, except where British subjects were concerned, and the chiefs and petty chiefs of Tembuland—under terms of a convention made with them by the Colonial Government in 1875—exercised authority according to native usage within their own sections (subject, however, to an appeal to the magistrate), in all cases except grave criminal offences such as murder, crimes arising out of accusations of witchcraft, serious assaults, and thefts from other tribes.

As regards Kafir laws, some knowledge of them was available from the facts compiled by Colonel Maclean, with the aid of others. This work was prepared in 1856 for the guidance of the special magistrates, and, when submitted to Sir George Grey, was

printed by his authority as a generally correct exposition of Kafir jurisprudence.

The information so obtained, with some additional details of the laws existing and acknowledged in 1881, was supplemented by reliable authority.

The result of the inquiries so prosecuted, and the bulk of the testimony received by the Commission, was found clearly to demonstrate that many of the then existing Kafir laws and customs were so interwoven with the social conditions and ordinary institutions of the native population, especially in the recently annexed territories, that any premature or violent attempt to break them down or sweep them away would have been mischievous and dangerous in the highest degree, besides, as experience had shown, defeating the object in view.

It was therefore considered most inexpedient wholly to supersede the native system by the application of Colonial law in its entirety; and the Commission directed its attention to the subject of suggesting and drafting a special code and regulations which

would leave such of their customary laws as were not opposed to the universal principles of morality and humanity substantially unaltered, and at the same time secure a uniform and equitable administration of justice in accordance with civilised usage and practice.

Such are the lines on which the native laws were formed, drawn directly from the Government Blue-Books—and as we consider them, we find ourselves at a loss to account for the state of unrest that is most surely creeping over South Africa, and we begin to wonder whether the Kafir races are so blind to their own interests as to be ungrateful to the beneficence of a protecting Government which does so much for their welfare, and whether they wish to return to their primitive wild life.

But it is well to remember that Blue-Books are no more read in South Africa than they are in England, and residence in the country does not always make a man aware of the admirable sentiments which the Government has for native traditions. Yet

there is one thing about which the most unlettered Kafir makes no mistake, and we can give it in the words of a heathen head-man in Zululand, as they were spoken in his kraal. He was sitting with his indunas, drinking and discussing many things, and then he turned to an English missionary present. "You missionaries deceive us poor black fellows," he said. "You teach from two books—the original book from which the white man learns, which allows him to swear and drink, to be immoral and do anything he pleases; then you alter that book so that those things which were originally allowed are now forbidden, and you come to the black man with that expurgated edition. You are therefore deceiving us."

The magistrate to whom the missionary narrated this interview said: "I take it that you read into what the Zulu said that the man was pointing out the difference between the law we preached to them and our own practice," to which the missionary replied, "That was the point."

Yes, that is the point,—not what the

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Government desires, nor what England, thousands of miles away, believes, but what actually is the case,—that we shall do well to consider just now; for to the simple mind of the native races it is the only reality, and we must grasp their point of view if we are ever to bring them into line with our own.

## CHAPTER II.

### NATIVE CUSTOMS.

A CHARACTERISTIC of the natives of South Africa is their tribal organisation. The tribe is a community or collection of natives forming a political and social organisation under the government control and leadership of a chief who is the centre of the national or tribal life. It is through the existence of a chief that the tribe is conscious of its unity. As the father is to the family, so is the chief to the tribe. He is sometimes the chief of several tribes, and then is known as Paramount or Supreme Chief, or he may be the head of a single tribe composed of a number of families usually members of the same clan. Each member of the tribe owes him personal allegiance and service, to be performed gratu-

itously, when called upon, in the interests of the chief or the tribe. Each member has the right to maintenance from the land of the tribe.

As a father exercises authority within his family, as the headman of a kraal or collection of kraals rules them and exercises authority over them, so the chief rules the tribe and guides its destinies. Furthermore, as the father consults his family, and the headman consults the men in the kraals under him, so a discreet and wise chief consults the elders of his tribe. He is their chief court of appeal, he sanctions all changes made in the traditional usages of the tribe; but everywhere amongst the natives the absolutism of the chief is tempered by institutions which keep it in check. It cannot be said that the judgments of chiefs were always equitable, but in the generality of cases they were so, and their administration on the whole was acceptable to the people.

The tribal system has either been modified or displaced by, or is being gradually brought under, statutory and administrative European

control. It was a form of government perfectly understood by the natives, carried with it mutual responsibility and suretyship, and required implicit obedience to authority. It possessed a ready means of communication and control extending from the paramount chief to the individual native on his kraal. It embodied an unbroken chain of responsibility,—the responsibility of the headman for his people, of the head of a kraal or family for its members, and of every individual of a tribe to the chief.

Such then, briefly, was the tribal system, which has been modified and moulded into the forms thereof in existence at the present time in British South Africa. The laws, customs, and usages prevailing amongst the natives previous to the establishment of European Government over them have not been abrogated or forbidden, except so far as the same may be repugnant to the general principles of humanity and civilisation.

It may fairly be said of the natives of South Africa that, though there are variations of detail in the laws of succession and in-



heritance, and in other customs and usages of the various tribes, there is great similarity in their tribal systems.

The chiefs continue to be recognised as a means of government of the native races, as it has not in general been deemed desirable to dispense with them; but their jurisdiction, more particularly in criminal matters, has been, and is being gradually, transferred to European magistrates and commissioners. In a few words, the abolition of the tribal system and chieftainship is being left to time and evolution towards civilisation, assisted by legislation where necessary, and administrative methods.

In Natal, the Transvaal, and Southern Rhodesia certain powers are vested by law in the Governor, or the officer for the time being administering the Government. This was done with the object of retaining certain administrative powers formerly possessed by chiefs which could not be exercised ordinarily by a governor or administrator, and also to supersede in a manner comprehensible by natives their paramount chief or chiefs by

the substitution of the head officers of the Government.

In the year 1850 the Governor of the Colony of Natal was first specifically constituted Supreme or Paramount Chief over all the natives. He was then vested with more extensive powers than at present. His legislative powers were taken away by the creation of the Legislative Council, and his jurisdiction as a Court of Appeal was removed by subsequent legislation. His powers have now practically been reduced to matters of administration, except in the case of disputes about general heirship of a deceased chief of a tribe, where he decides finally, no right of appeal being allowed.

By royal instructions to the Governor of Natal, dated 20th July 1893, it is directed that

before exercising the powers of Supreme Chief, other than those by law vested in the Governor and Council, the Governor shall acquaint his Ministers with the action which he proposes to take, and so far as may be possible shall arrange with them as to the course of action to be taken. The ultimate decision must, however, in every case, rest with the Governor.

So we see that all that was excellent in the original forms of native government was to remain, embodied in British rule and necessarily under Britain's, protection. Kumalo, a chief, in giving evidence of the new *régime* as contrasted with the old, said: "We came here, wet through as with rain with the laws of our own, and we came under the shelter of the wing of the Queen across the seas, where we obtained rest."

It is very remarkable to the traveller to note all over South Africa the very deep devotion inspired by the person of Queen Victoria. During her reign you could not long talk to a native without his expressing this; and he would plan how he could add to the number of his cattle till he had wealth sufficient to cross the ocean and see the great Queen.

Coloured pictures and marvellous representations of the Royal Family on biscuit-boxes were treasured up as choice possessions; and on the Queen's birthday, a public holiday, tiny flags hung on wayside huts. An English visitor said once, "We do not make so much

of the Queen's birthday at home," and a native, with that readiness of reply which seems born in them, made answer, "Ah, but you have the Queen."

Now to people to whom imagery is much, it may be asked if the King has fully taken the same place in their hearts, and the question is not easily answered.

The Mother of the World was an idea into which the native races had grown, and it was associated in their minds with all that was noble, benevolent, and kind. The magistrates who protected them, the missionaries who taught them, the fair white children to whom they were nurses, all came from the great family of the Queen, who lived far away in England and had their interests at heart; and though they could not have put abstract thoughts into words, there is no doubt that gentleness, love, the patient skill of surgeons, the knowledge of a Father in heaven to care for them, and the removal of the terrors of witchcraft, were all connected with their great Mother the Queen.

Then the Queen died: and perhaps none of

the scenes at Osborne, or in London or Windsor, exceeded the pathetic splendour of the myriads of the dusky sons of the Empire mourning with heartfelt grief the sovereign they loved so deeply and had never seen. Now the King has come to the throne: and it has been questioned whether all this allegiance was transferred in its fulness to him. The best way will be to let the people speak for themselves, and again we will hear Kumalo, who, it must be remembered, is a chief in Natal, and notice his answers given in the last Commission.

The President said—

“You and your people love the Government, and have always done so: you have never had any occasion to be discontented with the Government, and you have always been willing to do anything you can for the Government?”

*Kumalo.* “Yes, that is so.”

*Q.* “And is this due to your Christianity, or is it due to your having become owners of land, and in that way have been civilised over and above the natives who are around you?”

*K.* “We have done it out of love for our King and our late Queen. It was not until we came under her beneficent rule that we knew any peace

or safety at all, and her Government was always good and kind to us; and we now with all our hearts feel affection and loyalty towards the great lion in London, the King of the British, whom we will always serve; we wish for no change over us at all. I do not think there is another man who has had such a fine and good experience as I have. Here is this man here: I hold him up as an instance. He was born when I was a man, and he has grown up to be like he is now, in the service of his King. He has often served in various ways. He has had children: his children have been married, and I see the grandchildren of this man who was a child after I was a man; and that I give as an instance of the life we have had under the British Government. We have never seen a country like this."

*Q.* "Then the Government of his Majesty the King has made you what you are at this present time, and your people?"

*K.* "Yes, that is so."

*Q.* "Is there anything else you would wish to say for yourself without being questioned, that you would like to say before you go?"

*K.* "I am very glad to be given an opportunity of speaking for myself without being asked,—to express my own feelings in this matter. I am very glad to have been afforded the opportunity of seeing you gentlemen, the servants of his Majesty the King, who have been appointed to do such an important work as that which I hear you have been appointed to do,—of going around the country

to inquire into the affairs of us natives, and hearing about us. I felt a very great desire, indeed, since I heard I was invited to come down and see you gentlemen with my own eyes, because my days are not long. I had some trouble in getting a conveyance to bring me through to the railway station to come here, but it was done for me by my people, and I am very glad that I have come and seen you with my own eyes. I say now that, even if death comes and takes me away, I am quite satisfied that I have had the opportunity of coming here and seeing the servants of his Majesty the King. I will not say more now. I do not wish to take up all the time, or to prevent my children who are sitting with me here from saying a few words."

Then arose Joseph Sondezi, one of the chief's followers, and spoke—

"I have nothing new to add to what has been stated by Johannes Kumalo. He has stated everything which I had to say, and his answers to the questions which have been put to him are similar to the ones which I would have given myself. The great question, and one which I should like to see, would be that all of us who are natives be put under the same laws as all the other subjects of King Edward the Seventh. Our own laws are a long way from us, and the nearest ones for us are the European laws. I thank the Commission for having invited our chief, who enabled us to come with him here to see the Commission."

As he finished speaking the grandson of the

Chief Kumalo arose, and he spoke in the rich deep tones of his own language, which must be heard to be appreciated, and these are the words he said—

“I wish to speak in my own language, so that the people round me can hear. What my grandfather has said, and the last speaker, with regard to the natives being under the white man’s law, arises from the great love they have for that Government and for their King. Their affection is so strong that it really impels them to say these things, and to wish that everybody, all the natives, may be under the laws which have made the British nation a nation. The Government of the British has enabled us to understand and to know the laws of the Almighty; but heathenism, in our opinion, restricts Christianity and keeps us from being Christians. Therefore, the earnest desire of my old grandfather, Chief Kumalo, and all of us people who have become Christians and have become enlightened through Christianity, is that all the heathens may come away from their customs and their ways, and come under the ordinary law and ordinary civilisation and Christianity. All these railways, and these telegraphs, and telephones, and all these matters, have only followed in the wake of the people who came to us first with the Gospel in their hands; and we can see that it is the Gospel which has elevated these people and made them what they are. And therefore I close by saying that it is the wish of us people, who are now as we are, that all others



may share in the same enlightenment and civilisation that we have, and be raised in the same way and come under the full law and the full might of the government and rule of his Majesty the King, with the Almighty at the head of all things."

Then spoke Lazurus Xaba—

"I have very little to add to what the previous speakers have said, but there is just one thing I would like to mention, just to show the Commission the direction of our desires. It is that you gentlemen may see that we desire and long for those things which will elevate us and carry us forward. I think you will admit that civilisation has carried us forward, because we, who are a poor people, have been able to do what we have done in buying lands, and that we have so great a desire for the education of our children. From these things I think that you gentlemen can see that we are not stationary, that we are moving forward. Here is one of our own children, one of us, the Rev. W. G. Mtembu. He is one of our people: he has been educated amongst us; and here he is now living amongst us as our teacher and our minister. I am an old man, as you see, and yet I am not of the age of our chief's eldest son; I am of the age of one of his younger sons, the father of Joseph Kumalo. And yet I may say that, up till now, as old as I am, I have never had anything to do with native customs and native ways, and I know nothing at all about them; I do not recognise them; and our children know not even an iota of the customs and usages of the heathen people.

That is why I have stood up to say that I thank the Commission for having given an opportunity to our old father here to come and speak for himself, and for us to be with him, to hear for ourselves what the Commission says."

Next came the Rev. W. G. Mtembu, who said—

"I stand up with fear and trembling, and since I heard that you and others were appointed to make such an important investigation as this, I have always thought about it with the same feelings, because it appears to me that a crisis in our history has come of some sort or other, and that some measure will be evolved which will make for our salvation and the uplifting of the black race. Therefore I pray the Almighty that He may bless your inquiries and your investigations for our good, and for the good of our people, and that the outcome will be for our good. We have many things that we might complain of, which we do not wish to mention—that is, on behalf of those who are under the heathen laws; but we ourselves—and speaking for myself as an exempted native—are under the ordinary law."

Last of all rose Enoch Msimango, saying—

"I feel a little diffident because so many have spoken, and it is late. It is very nice to hear what my uncle has stated here to the Commission. I feel that no one else should say anything for fear that he might say something which would spoil what my old uncle has said. It is a great pleasure to me that these Commissioners of his Majesty should have come here to find our old chief here

still alive, and to hear what he has to say, because we native people are frequently deceived. Somebody will tell us this is law, and somebody else will tell us that is law. We are told that the law of perhaps Swaziland, or the law of Basutoland, or the law of Pondoland, or the law of Zululand, is the law; but we do not consider that there is any single general law of the natives in this country. The law under which I was born is this law of the English people; the law under which any one who is wronged by somebody else has some one to inquire on his behalf and to protect him; the law under which what you have earned and got into your hands, and what is your own, is your own; and should you wish for any particular suit of clothes, or any colour of clothing, or any quality of clothing, no one will say, 'You cannot wear this, because this is only for a chief to wear, and not a man like you'; and if you have money and can build a house like this town-hall here, no one will interfere with you and say, 'What do you mean by building such a house, you are an *umtakati*'? These laws under which I have grown up is a government of light and civilisation, a government which is subject to the Almighty's rule. There are those who in their blindness, because their eyes have not yet been opened, and they have not yet understood, will say that the white man's law is a bad law; but when they have been civilised and become as I have, they will also say that this is the law under which life can be lived. I feel very pleased to have had this opportunity of saying

something before the Commission. I came into town here from Edendale not knowing what was going on, or that my old uncle was going to speak, and I have come in with him, and I am very thankful to have had the opportunity."

Having said that he was an exempted native, he expressed his opinion that he was, in consequence, in a much better position than formerly, as he enjoyed greater liberty and freedom.

Then the acting chairman brought the session to an end with these words—

"Johannes Kumalo, speaking for myself and the Commissioners, I say we are very pleased to have seen you, and we have listened with great interest to what you have had to say. You are an old man, older than any of us, and you have seen a great deal. We are much interested to see a man like you, whose memory goes back to those days when war and bloodshed was filling the country, and you have come on to these days when there is general peace, and you are in a state of prosperity. You have the blessing which is promised in the Bible to good men—that is, 'that they shall see their children's children and peace on the land.' You were fortunate in your youth to meet two wise men who gave you good advice—that missionary and Sir Theophilus Shepstone. You were wise enough to take their advice: following the missionary's advice, you embraced Christianity; and taking Sir Theophilus Shepstone's advice, you purchased land in the days when land could be purchased. And the consequence is that to-day

you and your people are in prosperity: and it has given us very much pleasure to see you, and to see that you are happy and satisfied under the British rule. But we must not forget, as a Commission, that all the natives in Natal and all the natives in South Africa are not so fortunate; that there are thousands and thousands still in ignorance, for whom it is our duty to think and see what the future has in store for them. These people, who are still going in ignorance and nakedness, are equally the subjects of the King with the more prosperous ones. I think the younger men are living in happier times than you lived in as a young man, and they ought to be grateful—and no doubt they are grateful, and respect you very highly for having taken the steps which have brought them to their present fortunate state. I bid farewell to you with our best wishes."

We lay down the report in bewilderment, and rub our eyes to make sure that we have not been reading an account of a debate in the English House of Commons, so striking is the spirit of loyalty, dignity, and gravity with which it is conducted; but there is no doubt about it, the speakers are Zulus, and the scene is Natal, which is to-day the centre of so great an unrest.

In the social upheaval which was perhaps

inevitable in South Africa, it is well to consider calmly what is actually taking place, and we shall see that

native family life is undergoing a great change; in some parts, owing to various causes, more rapidly than in others. Contact with Europeans, with their mode of life, their industries, their Christianising influences, their business dealings, the laws and forms of government, facilities for travelling, exchange of ideas, and a number of other factors appertaining peculiarly to civilised races, are slowly but surely transforming the whole social system and life of the natives. European influence and example have variously impressed and operated upon them, and not in all cases for their good.

European clothing, which is coming more and more into general use, has not been an unmixed blessing. It has promoted public decency, but, not being adopted in its entirety, and being necessarily of inferior material, it has not proved equally conducive to the promotion of health. The use of cotton shirts by the men, and the habit of allowing wet clothing to dry on the person, have been peculiarly harmful. The heavy woollen blanket or skin kaross of earlier times would have been thrown off for vigorous exercise, to be resumed with the first sensation of chill; but civilised attire does not lend itself to equally rapid adjustment, and a marked increase in consumption, pleurisy, inflammation of the lungs, and rheumatism has been the result. European clothes, too, require much

more frequent cleansing than their ancestral garb, a fact which, unfortunately, is not sufficiently realised by the natives, who have partially adopted our style of dress; but the hard school of experience will teach them, as it has taught us, to use greater care in these matters. The evils are not inseparable from European dress, but arise from an imperfect understanding of the laws of health.

The hoe has largely given place to the plough and other superior implements of agriculture, with the result that the native woman, who formerly did much tilling of the ground, is now in a great measure emancipated from that form of labour, the men and boys taking her place.

It is sometimes said that civilisation, or the beginnings of it, have not tended to make the native happier, more trustworthy, more civil, courteous, and obedient, and stronger physically and morally; and at the first glance there is some excuse for forming this opinion. True it is that the advent of civilisation has weakened the power of what long ages had taught the natives to regard as most necessary to their social and communal life, that it has tended to loosen tribal ties, to undermine wholesome patriarchal control, and has let loose in the midst of the resultant disorganisation all the temptations and vices which dog the steps of civilised advance. But where it has destroyed it will again construct—it has not taken away without offering something in return. The great powers of Christianity and education are at work. There has been, and there continues, a

great struggle between the powers of good and evil, of light and darkness, of enlightenment and ignorance, of progress and tradition, of Christianity and heathenism. Is it, therefore, surprising that much of what was picturesque, attractive, and even admirable in the native when untouched by European influences has been swept away? The final outcome of a righteous war is not to be judged by the devastations of opposing armies, or by the scenes of slaughter and bloodshed on the field of battle. No less fallacious would be the attempt to gauge the eventual issues of the civilisation of the natives by the many unfortunate features of the struggle which still prevail. Already there are more encouraging aspects. The lax morality among the women, which has been so often dwelt upon as the result of freeing them from the absolute control of their parents and sowing new temptations among them, is diminishing, and there is growing up an ever-increasing number of self-respecting native women who are learning to understand the freedom which has come to them, and are careful not to abuse its privileges.

In their homes the natives are a hospitable and social people, clever and bright in repartee, fond of music, open-hearted and generous hosts, imitative and tractable, and interesting in many ways. They are, speaking generally, not energetic of disposition, but the struggle for life has not been so hard with them as with the European nations, and there has in their past history been little to make them continuous workers.



They are attached to their homes, and even when they go to labour centres to earn money, prefer in general to do so for short periods, and then to return and look after the interests of the family and the welfare of the stock, participate in the sociable joys of beer gatherings, and superintend the ploughing for the coming year. So long as it is impossible for the native to marry and make his home, return nightly to his family, and live comfortably near the great centres of labour, so long will there be the yearning to return frequently to his distant home, and so long will the flow of labour be impeded by this really amiable trait in his character.

In the first movement towards establishing model locations aiming to provide for this need, it would possibly be necessary to face the reluctance of the native temperament to adopt anything new and improved; but once a system has been tried, and has proved suitable, the natives are not slow to recognise and take advantage of it, and attempts in this direction in the Cape Colony have already met with a considerable amount of success.

By the consideration of these facts which the South African Commission so fully realised, we shall see that great tact is necessary in those who deal with the natives of South Africa, and that nothing should be done hastily if it is to be done well.

Besides this, party government is not at all understood by people who are accustomed to see authority vested in one supreme head, and the evidence of Mr Justice Beaumont, Judge of the Supreme Court in Natal, puts this very clearly. He says:—

Party government is entirely unsuited to the natives, and to the administration of the natives. It creates a great difficulty, and is not an easy question to deal with at all. The natives have originally been accustomed to look up to the authority of the paramount chief. After their subjugation by Europeans they were accustomed to look up to one man, who in this country was Sir Theophilus Shepstone, as the supreme head, sitting, as it were, in the place of the paramount chief. His word has always been law, and his advice has always governed them. With party government you have done away with that, and you have got now a shifting Secretary for Native Affairs—a man who may be in office only for a few months, a man who may not be generally known to the natives, and a man who may not be well acquainted with native administration, and all that creates very great difficulty. Another great defect in connection with party government is this, that any Minister in office always hesitates to introduce any legislation affecting the natives, for fear that it should be made a handle for party purposes, which, of course, would be a very deplorable thing.

and a very serious thing in a country like this, with the mass of natives we have here. The thing is how to get over that. I have suggested that there should be a permanent Secretary for Native Affairs, or a permanent Chief Under-Secretary for Native Affairs, with a seat in both Houses, with a right of speaking, but without any power of voting. If you had a man like that you would gain two things. First of all, you would have a man who was chosen for his knowledge of the natives, of their character and wants and administration, and a man in whom the Government would have confidence, directing the native policy; and you would have a continuity of policy which you cannot have with a constantly shifting Secretary for Native Affairs. On the other hand, you would have a man whom the natives would always look up to as the head, to whom they should look not only for their orders, but also for advice and guidance. That you cannot have. I am well acquainted with the present system in the Cape Colony, but I understand that there the Prime Minister acts as nominal Secretary for Native Affairs, and the real administration of the natives is in the hands of a permanent Chief Secretary.

There is no doubt that at the present time the natives are puzzled with regard to England's policy, and bewilderment after a time leads to distrust. We may see admirable reasons for managing Natal in a differ-

ent way from Cape Colony, but they cannot understand it, and over and over again, in the evidence before the Commission on native affairs, the same question comes up—"Why is there not one law which is the law of the land, instead of a law for this district and a law for that, so that no one feels sure what is the law?"

No such uncertainty surrounds tribal laws: they do not change, and every one knows them. Every year in England books are published by thousands, and eagerly read, discussed, and forgotten, but as long ago as 1899 there is a report in a Blue-Book of Native Affairs which might well make the few who ever read it reflect. If it had been quoted in a popular novel, would it have seized on the public imagination, and would South Africa to-day be peaceful and happy? It is impossible to say, for even if England realised facts, few of her sons have the genius needed for dealing with native races, and as it is, England on the whole has been blissfully ignorant. Two and a half pages in a Blue-Book, and most of them are bare facts; and

yet out of facts much can be gathered. The Report deals with the district of Ngamakwe, and it is written by the resident magistrate of the time, Mr W. C. Scully. We give a few extracts:—

The estimated population is as follows: Bantu, 39,000; European, 250; Hottentot and mixed, 200. . . .

The crime report for the past year is satisfactory. Crimes for violence show a decrease of about 50 per cent. A certain increase in the number of thefts during the second half of the year is directly due to absolute hunger, caused by a succession of utterly bad seasons and the recent tremendous losses from rinderpest. The hut-tax collected during the year amounts to £2599, 10s.

Then comes a sad account of the health of the natives. Rheumatism and chest complaints are common, small-pox not infrequent, and leprosy involves "heart-breaking work."

1188 natives went to Johannesburg for work, and 8149 passes were granted to natives in search of employment.

The brandy evil is still a serious one. Until the sale of drink to natives on the colonial side

of the Kei River be strongly restricted no improvement is to be hoped for. The profits made by those who deal in brandy are so enormous that the dealer becomes a power in his district. What those profits must be may be inferred from the following fact: In a district not a hundred miles from here stands a canteen, separated from the Kei River by two farms. Over these ran a footpath which the natives used in fetching their brandy. The police used to patrol these farms, and apprehend the natives for crossing the boundary of the colony without passes. Mr Canteen-keeper bought the two farms, and refused the police permission to enter them. Consequently the natives now have a free course in which they cannot be interrupted the whole way between the canteen and the river. As the river farm has a broad frontage, and as the country is extremely rough on each side, it is not possible to intercept the smugglers on this side, more especially as they continually have spies out on the high ground. These, should the police be in the vicinity, shout information as to the whereabouts of the patrol over the heads of the chagrined constables.

It is easy to see here that law can be set at defiance, and that the result must have a disastrous effect on the people; but the next passage of the Report shows that drinking is not the only curse of the country, for we read:—

Usury is another evil which is rapidly assuming alarming proportions here. A shilling per month is considered very reasonable interest indeed. A re-enactment of the "*laesio enormis*" law might do something towards checking this mischievous development.

So far we study facts, and surely for a nation so eminently practical as England, it is remarkable that facts alone do not arouse more interest. The average Englishman fails to grasp the enormous proportion of black to white in the population of South Africa, which works out roughly in these numbers:—

In Natal, blacks to white are	9 to 1
In the Transvaal . . . .	4 to 1
In Basutoland . . . .	35 to 1
In Cape Colony . . . .	4½ to 1

So that in these four divisions of South Africa the average proportion of black to white is 13½ to 1.

Then, add to this the fact that in Natal alone there are now more than 100,000 Indians, and 50,000 Chinese coolies have lately been added to the population of South Africa. We are not touching on any cry of

slavery, but what about the race question? Is it conceivable that a day might come when, instead of a policy designed by the white man for the black, the black man might say in no gentle terms that the white man must go? Those who have talked to English men and women out there who remember native wars do not easily forget it,—the apparent suddenness of the rising, the overwhelming numbers, the awful horror. The writer has held a baby's lace cap which was left behind in an English home, when without an hour's warning the English family fled, when women and children sought refuge in the nearest cathedral, and things took place which no one will ever bear to think of; but years afterwards the cap was brought back by a faithful servant, and to-day the baby is a man.

But we turn to finish Mr Scully's report, and it no longer contains dry facts:—

The philosophic administrator of a native district may draw comfort from the reflection that in the more difficult future other hands than his will hold the plough. The problems ahead make one



almost afraid to think. When one considers the tremendous increase of population, and remembers that there is no room for expansion in any direction, the prospect looks dark indeed. What will become of these inarticulate myriads, whose standard of righteousness we are so rapidly destroying, and to whom our standard of righteousness is unintelligible?

How long will they hearken to our half-understood speech? Shall we ever bridge the gulf that lies between our understanding and theirs?

“How shall he clear himself, how reach  
Your bar or weighed defence prefer?  
A brother hedged with alien speech,  
And lacking all interpreter.”

These and other questions we will have to answer, and there are apt to be serious consequences if one answers sphinx-riddles otherwise than correctly.

Now this is not, as some might think, a hysterical appeal in Exeter Hall; it is the deliberate report of a Government official in a Blue-Book, and it is significant that it was written seven years ago. But possibly the question, like railway accidents in America, is thought to be too far away to concern us, or to figure conspicuously in our newspapers.

Yet there are one or two things in the

report that surprise us. What about the Labour question? If from one district so many men went to the mines then, why did they not go later?

Supposing, instead of reading newspapers, we had all studied Blue-Books, what would have been the condition of South Africa at the present time?

These questions are not easy to answer; but a few can answer them, and they are those who speak what they know, and testify what they have seen.

## CHAPTER III.

### MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

AMONG the many complications in the government of a country where civilisation and primitive customs are so much interwoven as they are in South Africa, there is nothing that requires more careful study than the difficulties which surround the question of marriage; and we are not surprised that the Commission goes into the matter at some length.

It will be well to quote the official Report, and then to look a little more in detail into what is involved. The Report runs:—

The conversion of a native to Christianity has consequences beyond the fact that he adopts the Christian faith and is received as a member of a Christian Church. It may bring about automatic-

ally an alteration in his relations with his family and in his position with regard to his property. The alteration referred to is not that which arises from religious and ecclesiastical precepts with regard to his domestic relations—as, for instance, the conversion of the marriage-tie from a mere contract to a sacred and permanent union; but it is more of the nature of a change in his legal status and of the laws regulating the disposal of his estate.

These consequences are not uniform in the various Colonies, and certain anomalous situations are created by what appear to be the inevitable difficulties attending the transference of an individual from one legal and social position to another.

Except in Natal, the principle underlying legislation on the subject appears to have been throughout a disinclination to accord to marriage under native law and custom the full status which a Christian or civil marriage carries with it; but so far as possible to mark the status of a couple married by Christian rites or civil ceremony by bringing them and their property at once under the operation of the common law in such matters as applied to Europeans. The result is to remove the intestate estate of a native who has contracted a Christian or civil marriage from the operation of the native law of succession, and to bring it under the ordinary or Roman-Dutch law prevailing in the Colony. This disinclination is based upon the lack, in marriages under native custom, of the essential condition in Christian marriage—that it is the union of one man and one woman for life.

In the native marriage polygamy may be, and often is, in contemplation by the husband. Moreover, under their own customs, separation was, and is, effected by the parties concerned without judicial proceedings being necessarily resorted to, simply by restoration to the husband of the cattle, or in some cases a portion thereof, paid by him to his father-in-law.

In Natal, on the contrary, the native marriage is fully recognised, and the devolution of estates under the code of native law is prescribed by enactment, and such devolution is not affected by any Christian marriage by Christian rites, nor by anything but formal exemption from native law. The tendency there has been to level up in certain respects the native marriage to the Christian marriage, and the status and permanence of native marriages have been recognised and strengthened by legislation. Divorce by a competent court has been made necessary to annul a marriage by native custom. A native may not marry by Christian rites who already has a wife by native law. This law is held to prevent even a native monogamist converting his marriage under native law into valid Christian marriage with his own native wife, and a native married by Christian rites who subsequently contracts a native marriage commits the crime of bigamy. A native may, however, marry an indefinite number of wives under native custom and commit no crime.

Further, in Natal, differing again from other colonies, Christian marriage, unless the husband be

exempted from native law, does not improve the status of himself or his wife, and does not remove his property from the native law of succession and inheritance, so that, failing sons, his property, in the event of his death, goes to the male next-of-kin, on whom devolves the guardianship of the widow and daughters.

Except in Natal, the intestate estate of a native who has contracted a Christian or civil marriage is administered according to the Roman-Dutch law, the principle of which is in this respect the division of the property in prescribed shares to the widow and children of the deceased. This is distinctly opposed to native law, which recognises the principle of primogeniture under which the eldest son succeeds to all unallotted property. The effect of Christian marriage under such circumstances is, therefore, to alter the distribution of the intestate estate very much in favour of the widow and minor children, but to the disadvantage of the eldest son or other male heir. This does not affect the devolution of land held under the Glen Grey system of title, in regard to which special provisions have been made to a great extent in accordance with native law.

In the Cape Colony a native can escape from the position by disposing of his property by will; but in Natal, while subject to native law, he has no such freedom of testamentary disposition except in respect of any landed property owned by him.

One of the strongest forces in native life, and one which might be utilised for bringing about

an improvement in their social condition, is the influence of the women. That influence is already strong, and would be made stronger and better if she were a free agent and a Christian wife. The Commission is impressed by the importance and desirability of furthering the emancipation of the native woman of full age, and of giving every encouragement to the increase of Christian marriages among the natives; and it recommends that the native woman so married should be thereby exempted from the tribal law and custom of guardianship, and in the event of widowhood that she should be personally free and independent. It is convinced that these would prove powerful influences in the advancement of the native people.

The following resolutions were adopted:—

That it should be the endeavour of ministers of religion and civil officers who solemnise the rite of marriage between natives, to satisfy themselves that such natives, in colonies in which the effect of Christian or civil marriage is to bring the administration of their estates within the Roman-Dutch law, fully realise the legal obligations which they are undertaking.

That no minister of religion should solemnise a marriage without being licensed as a marriage officer.

Here, as elsewhere with regard to laws for natives, we are struck with the fact that what is general in other places is not the

law in Natal, and we begin to wonder less at the native bewilderment. But there is one widespread custom in South Africa known as "ukulobola," which must be realised in considering marriage customs; and perhaps it has never been more fully treated than by a Lutheran missionary, Rev. A. Kroff, whose article in 'The Kafir Express' we venture to quote:—

Wherever the Gospel is preached among heathen nations, and souls are saved by the means of grace and brought into the folds of Christendom, a most important question arises, namely, What is to be done with the national and social customs of the converted people? Are they to be allowed, and to what extent, or are they to be abolished, and those who still practise them excluded from membership of the Church?

The rules laid down by the first German (Lutheran) missionaries who had the honour to be the pioneers in India, and to which all Lutheran missionaries adhere to this day, did not aim to abolish or extirpate all national and social customs among native Christians, or to supplant them by the more refined customs of civilised nations, but to prune and to sanctify them, and even to preserve them, so far as they are not antagonistic to the Word of God.

We know very well that this course has not



been followed by all the missionaries labouring among Kafirs. Some have tried to uproot such customs, in which effort they have hitherto not only not succeeded, but, I am afraid, substituted nothing better, perhaps even have destroyed many a good plant.

If my memory serves me right, the subject of "ukulobola" has been introduced twice into our conference, but we came to no satisfactory result, which may partly be attributed to not having carefully enough looked at the *history* and *original signification* of the custom.

From the earliest age of history "ukulobola" was practised among all Oriental nations, and in the migrations towards the West they brought it even to Europe, where it *died away* after the new wine of the Spirit of God had thoroughly fermented in the disciples of Christ.

Every one who looks with a single eye at this custom must confess that from its earliest practice, as recorded in Holy Writ, it was not a religious, but a civil or social custom, and that if you like to call it an *evil*, it is not one of the social evils which we find among all nations coming in contact with Christianity, and which we have patiently to bear, or to reform, if there is anything to reform in it, especially in the transition state which follows the introduction of the Gospel among the heathen.

That the custom of "ukulobola" in its original signification has degenerated, and that at present many evils are connected with it, I am the last

man in the world to deny; but I leave it to those who are more intimately acquainted with the custom to show up the dark side of the picture.

I am afraid that the expensive marriages of our young people are *a far greater evil*, and more difficult to be brought within proper bounds, than "ukulobola."

Those that contend that "ukulobola" is a mere buying and selling, I wish to refer to the Bible, where the Hebrew verb *mohar* never means buying or selling in the ordinary sense now commonly accepted among us. Its primary sense is that sense of exchanging, which is also proved by the softened form *mur* and the hardened *makar*. The nearest signification of this word is given by Gesenius: "*uxorem pretio parentibus soluto.*" *It is the equivalent which the bridegroom gives to the bride's father for the services which she no more can render to him, but must render to her husband.*

That "ukulobola" is not buying or selling can also be proved by the husband having no liberty to sell his wife again, which he can do with bought chattels. The use of this word in the Old Testament is restricted to this transaction only, and cannot be used in any other connection, just as it is in Kafir, where it is alone used for marriageable women.

We find the word for the first time in Gen. xxxiv. 12, which the English Bible renders, "Ask me never so much dowry and gift." It is here connected with the word *mathan*. The first, *mohar*, is given to the father, and the second, *mathan*, to the bride. Also Gen. xxiv. 53, where the servant

of Abraham gives to Rebecca jewels of silver and jewels of gold, and raiment, but to the brother (mark the brother stands first) and the mother precious things.

That the custom of "ukulobola" became at that time consolidated we infer also from Gen. xxix. 7.

The daughter was of valuable service to the father in the house, or in the field by minding sheep, &c. *By giving her to be married he lost these services, and therefore a part of his property and wealth*, which had to be redeemed by the bridegroom either by money, precious things, or cattle, or by serving the father-in-law in the fields like Jacob, or as a warrior like David (1 Sam. xviii. 25). In this sense the customs prevail until this day among the Arabs, the Mohammedans in India, the Kurds, Turcomans, Circassians, and Kabyls, the latter giving eight pots of fat and thirty hamels for a girl. The Wogulsin, in the district of Perm in the Ural Mountains, give five roubles for a lean, and twenty-five for a fat girl. The Tahiers in Western Africa ask "ukulobola," but the parents often refuse it for the purpose of claiming the children. But if the girl has the courage to ask for and to accept the "ukulobola," then the issue does not belong to the parents.

If any doubt should still exist about the meaning of the word *mohar*, this doubt will be removed by a careful study of Exod. xxii. 15, 16. The whole paragraph from xxi. 18 to xxii. 17 speaks of it, indemnification to be given for the loss, damage,

or violation committed to any one's property; and, most remarkably, the last subject coming under this rubric is the daughter, whose violation is to be redeemed according to the signification of "ukulobola" which we have given above. In this passage occur the noun and the verb. The violater had to pay the "ukulobola," even if the father refused to give the daughter to him. Here we see that the "ukulobola" was already fixed; and Deut. xxii. 29 mentions only the highest "ukulobola" in such a case where this human property had been injured.

From the foregoing we infer—

1. That in ancient times the brother, just as it is among Kafirs, had a nearer right of control and protection over his sister than the father (Gen. xxiv. 53, xxxiv. 13).
2. The *mohar* or "ukulobola" is never mentioned as given to the bride, which the English word dowry will infer, but to the father. In Deut. it is said, "He shall give to the damsel's *father* fifty shekels of silver."

For our purpose it will be of minor importance to mention that Homer, in his 'Iliad,' Hymn xi. 241, says of Iphidamus: "The unfortunate, far away from his consort, far away from his wife, never having enjoyed her charms, for whom he had given first a hundred of bullocks, and further promised for her a thousand goats and the same number of sheep." Or in the 'Odyssey,' where

Hephaistos says: "Till the *father* shall give me back all bridal presents which I have given *him* for the girl, the dog-eyed."

It will be more to our purpose to hear of this custom among our own common ancestors, the Germans, and especially the Saxons, and how the Christian Church dealt with this custom.

Though the German woman, as Tacitus says, was held in the highest respect by the man, she was nevertheless not independent like him, who, weapons in hand, fought for his right and liberty. The unmarried women were in the power of their male relatives, called *Schwertmagen*, who had to defend them, and who enjoyed and received as an equivalent for this defence and protection the indemnification which those had to pay who offended the woman. This right, analogous to the Roman *manas*, was exercised by the father, or brother, or guardian, and was called *Mundwald*—i.e., advocacy, attorney, or guardianship. As the girl, by being married, was transferred from the guardianship of the father, brother, or other male relative to the guardianship of the husband, the marriage could only be concluded by the formal public transfer of the bride from the guardian to her future husband; and as at the same time this guardianship was looked upon as a complex of property rights, on account of these moneys that fell to the guardian for defending and protecting the woman, the transfer therefore was done as a purchase—mark, not of the woman, but of the *guardianship*, which was considered to be a property

right. This transfer of the wife to the future husband was executed in the open market-place, and marriage was legalised by paying down a fixed sum.

In later times this money did not come into the possession of the guardian, but was settled on the wife as a *dotalicium* (dowry) as provision for her future widowhood.

In the course of the Middle Ages this purchase of guardian rights disappears, and there remain till this day only certain symbolical actions, as the giving of a ring or money by the bridegroom to the bride, which reminds us of the "ukulobola" of our ancestors. When this custom fell to the ground, the right of the guardian to marry his protected against her own will fell down at the same time.

The "ukulobola" obtained also among the Pruezi and the Slavonians who inhabited the eastern part of Europe. I cannot deny myself the pleasure of reciting the touching strains which were uttered by the girl after the "ukulobola" was fixed by the father. She called all her relatives together to bewail with them her virginity. "Who, who, who will in future make the bed for my father? who will wash his feet? My dear little dog, my dear little pig, who will feed you in future?" Then she was led to the fireplace, and here she proceeded by saying, "My dear holy fire, who will in future supply you with wood, that father and mother may refresh their dying limbs by your heat? Who will take care of you and keep you in burning?" &c.

I ask those missionaries who were born in this

country, and are most intimately acquainted with this custom, if they do not recognise in these sketches features similar to the Kafir "ukulobola"? And further, I ask their experience if the women till this day do not attach *great honour* to this custom, and think themselves rather *dégradèd* by being given away without "lobola," according to the old true maxim, "What you get without price you will not esteem and honour"? Is it not among a people a pledge of "nyamsisa"?

But here arises the most practical question, "What did the old Church do with this custom?" Did it propose such severe measures as are recommended at the present time, namely, excommunication? In the New Testament nothing is said directly about this custom, either for or against it, but 1 Cor. vii. 36 to 40 seems to me to contain a silent acknowledgment of this custom, where the apostle ascribes to the father or guardian the right, or better *might*, to dispose of his daughter. That Paul leaves the will of the girl wholly out of account cannot surprise those who know what power a father or guardian had among the Jews and Greeks.

In the penitentials, which originated in the Old British Church (the first dates from the year 450), as also in those of Anglo-Saxons, improvement and enlargement (until the eighth century), not a vestige of such a treatment is to be found, though these penitentials fix penitences for all imaginable sins done by thoughts, words, or works. I find only that the "ukulobola" was limited by the

following sentences: 1. If a father constrains his daughter to marry against her will, or, 2, dissolves a settled engagement without the consent of the daughter, he is to be put under church discipline.

My own views in the latter are the following:—

- (1) Discourage by all lawful means the present degenerated practice of “ukulobola,” but do not excommunicate for doing it.
- (2) Let the same be done here as in Natal—namely, that the girl declares to enter the state of matrimony by her own consent, and not by constraint of her relations.
- (3) Accept the two canons of the old Church. (Our Church applies these canons in this way, that the father has a right to say, You shall not marry this man; but he had no right to say, You shall marry that man.)
- (4) To do away with all evil consequences of the present “ukulobola,” let us petition Government that those measures which Sir George Grey, shortly before his departure from this colony, wished to inaugurate—viz., that from a fixed day all marriages of Kafirs must be contracted before and registered by a magistrate—may be introduced now among the Kafir population of the colony, and henceforth no lawsuit about the *ifazi* may be recognised.



Since I had written this paper I learned that a remnant of "ukulobola" is still to be found in Christian Norway. Before the bride and bridegroom go to church, the attorney of the bride tries to get as much as possible from the bridegroom—namely, 100 dollars, with horse and sledge—by highly praising the beauty of the bride; whereas the attorney of the bridegroom tries his utmost to lower this sum by praising the bridegroom. During the whole transaction the bride has to be present. As soon as it is finished the marriage ceremony begins.

We look for an English expression of opinion on the matter, and we find a statement by the Bishop of Lebombo:—

"Lowola" . . . is not forbidden by the law of Christ, and consequently I, as Christ's minister, have no right to refuse Church privileges to one who thinks proper to follow the custom of his country in the matter. Practices very similar are allowed in Christian lands to this day.

Now this custom throws a great light on the effects of the action of the British South Africa Company with regard to Matabele.

It may be said, "Why bring up old matters of dispute? Let them rest, for Cecil

Rhodes is dead, and a great charity should cover the memory of the dead." True; but it may also be said that Sir Richard Martin is alive, and something is due to the living: and without expressing any opinion, the reader may satisfy himself by expending a shilling on a Blue-Book (C—8547).

We give a few quotations from the Report, and we cannot forget the intensity of the feeling we found in the country among the chiefs for the honour of their wives. Lord Rosmead wrote to Mr Chamberlain as follows :—

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CAPE TOWN,  
*February 9, 1897.*

SIR,—With reference to my confidential telegram of 8th instant, and to previous correspondence respecting the inquiry which you directed Sir R. Martin to make into the native administration of the British South Africa Company, and the probable cause of the rising, I have the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of a Despatch which I have received from that officer covering the reports called for.

The points on which Sir R. Martin was specially instructed to report were—

1. The labour question.
2. The cattle question.

3. The alleged concession to Mr Homan.

4. The cause of the rebellion.

He points out that the evidence which he has been able to obtain has been by no means sufficient to enable him to render as satisfactory and exhaustive a report as he should have wished, but from the reports of the Government officials, from such information as he has been able to obtain from independent sources, and from his own personal observation and knowledge of natives, he has arrived at the following conclusions:—

First. As regards the labour question.

- (1) That compulsory labour did undoubtedly exist in Matabeleland, if not in Mashonaland.
- (2) That labour was procured by the various native commissioners for the various requirements of the Government, mining companies, and private persons.
- (3) That the native commissioners, in the first instance, endeavoured to obtain labour through the indunas, but, failing in this, they procured it by force.

Second. As regards the cattle question.

- (1) He is of opinion that the fatal mistake made by the Company in claiming all cattle as the property of the King immediately after the war, and the uncertainty that must have existed in the native mind regarding the proprietorship of the cattle previous to the distribution, together with the irritation

caused by the frequent drafts made by the native police, and finally, the unsatisfactory division, could not fail to produce widespread discontent and distrust.

- (2) That, though the regulations entitled "The Sale and Disposal of Stock Regulations of 1895" may have been necessary and justifiable in the interests of the Company previous to the division of cattle, after that division the Company was not justified in exercising them in the case of the cattle which, by that division, were now recognised as the actual property of the natives themselves.

A little farther on we find Sir Richard Martin's statement, and it is difficult to get away from his facts or to ignore the fatal seed of dissension sown, which, as he says, the natives will never forgive or forget.

This Report is worth reading calmly, for South Africa is pre-eminently a country where mistakes are made; and when certain men are recalled or misjudged, the world writes them down as failures, yet some would be glad to fail with Sir Richard Martin, and

we quote a few paragraphs of his official letter :—

Mr Vintcent and the Resident Magistrate of Buluwayo apparently admit that the representative of the Company at the time recognised the fact that some cattle did belong to private individuals, but owing to the difficulty in distinguishing them from the King's cattle, it appears to have been thought expedient to claim all the cattle on behalf of the Company, as having been the King's cattle.

No doubt this was a convenient way out of the difficulty, but I consider it was a fatal one, and by pursuing it, in my opinion, an error was committed which could never be explained away to the natives, and one which they would never forgive nor forget, and which was bound to render any satisfactory settlement of the cattle question most difficult, if not altogether impossible.

From my own knowledge and experience of the Zulus and Swazis, to whom the Matabele were nearly allied, and whose customs regarding cattle were probably very similar, I am of opinion that, in all probability, many thousands of cattle were the property of private individuals, though, no doubt, a very large percentage of the whole stock in the country was owned by the King.

The immense value that a native places on his cattle, and the jealousy with which he guards them, are facts so well known that they hardly require mention; but I would point out that the posses-

sion of cattle alone enables a native to marry, the "lobola" or purchase money of the wife being, according to native custom, almost invariably paid in cattle.

Thus the wholesale appropriation of cattle by the Company must have put a stop to the carrying out of one of the most strictly observed customs of the natives.

The effect that the seizure of their cattle must have had on the young fighting men, who saw that they were thereby deprived of all chance of acquiring a wife, can be easily imagined. Though the native commissioners, with the exception of three, state that no dissatisfaction was shown by the natives, I am firmly convinced that, owing to the wholesale seizure of cattle, universal discontent must have been in existence, though perhaps concealed.

Lord Grey in his report says that after the war of 1893 the natives were allowed to continue to take charge of the cattle until the Land Commission should make its decision known.

But I am also informed that, previous to the distribution of cattle, the native commissioners were instructed to supply the Government with fifty head of cattle each month, which they did through the agency of the native police. This practice, I cannot help thinking, must have been a source of great irritation and discontent to the natives.

I fully believe that many of those under whose charge the Company had placed cattle had, previous to the war of 1893, possessed a certain number of

their own, and still considered some of the cattle claimed by the Company, but left in their charge, as their own property, and the result of these cattle-collecting visits of the native police must have kept them in a continual state of dread and uncertainty. They never knew when the next drain would be made on the herd in their possession, nor how soon they might be deprived of those cattle that they considered their own.

Lord Grey says that the Company had possessed themselves of about 80,000 head of cattle previous to the rebellion, but Mr Carnegie asserts that some 200,000 head had been taken previous to the distribution in December 1895. I am not prepared to express an opinion as to the actual number, but I am fully convinced that sufficient were taken to lead the natives to suppose, previous to the distribution, that they would before long be deprived of all.

Certainly the farther we go into the question of the races in South Africa the more involved it appears, and the more clearly we see that its difficulties are not to be solved by the force of arms. Over and over again in the evidence before the late Commission the same thing is repeated, and the suggestions of those who have spent their life in the country deserve far more consideration than the opinions of English

newspapers. Mr Bazeley, a sugar-planter, in speaking of the natives, says:—

They are steadily increasing: you have one million now in Natal as against one hundred thousand white population, if as much. You have ten to one in Natal, and you have got a large preponderance of natives all over South Africa, and that preponderance is steadily increasing. What do you suppose is going to be the end of it all? Are you simply to rule these people as something between an animal and a man, or what policy would you adopt? I should say have locations; large locations could be provided for them, and, of course, there is still any amount of land that will never be suitable for Europeans to live on. They could never make a living on it, and that land could be used for native location. Of course, if there was a law that no man should have more than five tenants, that would clear all the surplus men off the private lands on to locations, which would crowd them very materially. Then there is the difficulty coming on with the natives regarded as working men. If they are going to be divided up, and not allowed to live under the tribal system in big kraals as they have done, the question is whether they would go to work at long distances, leaving their families all alone on hill-tops, with no one to take care of them. In the way they live now in the kraals, the headmen take charge of everything during the absence of the younger men. If these men become



landed proprietors, and have a small plot of land allotted to them, it will simply stop them going to work altogether, because they cannot leave their homes.

What is to be the end of it all? No one can say; but one thing is certain, that the natives in South Africa—unlike other parts of the world—do not disappear before the presence of the white men, but under beneficent government they rather increase.

Will any one lightly shake their loyalty to the British Crown and their devotion to the “great lion of London”?

But a catechism on South Africa would be a curious compilation, for it would consist of many questions and few answers; and, after all, only one answer will ever unravel the tangled skein that becomes each year more hopeless, and that answer, setting aside gain and expediency, is justice.

## CHAPTER IV.

### CHRISTIANITY.

PROBABLY there is no subject on which more diverse opinions are felt and expressed than the subject of Christianising the native races, and it is a matter in which no one is deterred from passing judgment by the fact that his own life is not eminent in those Christian virtues which he expects to see so abundantly shown forth in the life of his dark brother.

If Christianity were a short road to ensuring that masters and mistresses should no longer have any trouble with their servants, the missionaries would find a ready hand of welcome held out to them where now they receive coldness and criticism; but it would not be fair to dismiss the matter without

seeing what ground there is for the popular notion that Christianity spoils the native. -

Now under the tribal laws there is not only a code of morality and punishment for certain offences, but a very strong public opinion against these offences. The evidence of Cetewayo, ex-king of the Zulus before the Commission of 1881, throws a light on certain questions in which the penal code of the natives is framed in one particular more in accordance with the Sermon on the Mount than is the penal code of Great Britain. Capital punishment is rare in the Kafir laws, and not invariable for murder; but the king's answer when the president of the Commission asked if death were not a severe punishment in a certain case was unhesitating—

“The punishment is death, because it is a very disgraceful thing.”

But the punishment for trying to kill the king is not death, and again we have it in Cetewayo's words—

“He is simply fined cattle and talked to very severely.”

There is a world of meaning behind the words, as is so often the case with races which have other modes than language to convey their meaning, and we realise that treason is not a crime that would occur frequently.

Well, we can imagine a native turning his back on his old traditions and attaching himself to some mission, having perhaps the impression that he can free himself of fetters and do as he likes, and finding to his disgust that he is expected still to conform to rules and do his daily work. A few weeks or months go by, and he has imbibed a little instruction, caught up a few phrases, and mastered some popular hymns; but his teachers have not thought him fit for baptism, and he has given them an infinite amount of trouble.

Then he goes off: the mission is not what he wanted, and he is tired of its restraint. He has acquired a pair of trousers, and a few odds and ends of European clothing, and he describes himself as a school Kafir. In the situation he gets, he shows himself

no more industrious or trustworthy than he was before, and all his faults are laid to the account of the mission where he lived for a time.

But he was not a Christian, and the strange confusion that has arisen in the minds of many concerning him, comes from the deeply-rooted conviction that there is some mysterious connection between European clothing and Christianity; and it is no little relief to find the late Commission speaking in no measured terms of Christianity and civilisation as distinct and often opposing forces.

We quote this passage from the Report, and the expression of calm deliberate decision in favour of distinct religious teaching comes with special force just now, when a question of equal moment is being discussed throughout this country.

The Commission says:—

In considering the relations between the European and the native populations, certain responsibilities on the part of the race which occupies the position

of the governing and superior caste claim attention. Among such responsibilities there is a duty as to the moral and intellectual elevation of the subject race, and the Commission recognises that upon the Governments of the South African Colonies this duty is laid.

For the moral improvement of the natives there is available no influence equal to that of religious belief. The vague superstitions of the heathen are entirely unconnected with any moral ideas, though upon sensuality, dishonesty, and other vices there have been always certain tribal restraints which, while not based upon abstract morality, have been real, and, so far as they go, effective. These removed, civilisation, particularly in the larger towns, brings the native under the influence of a social system of which he too often sees and assimilates the worst side only.

It must apparently be accepted as an axiom that contact with what we are accustomed to regard as civilisation has a demoralising tendency as its first effect upon primitive races. It is clear that the native year by year is becoming familiar with new forms of sexual immorality, intemperance, and dishonesty, and that his naturally imitative disposition, his virility, and escape from home and tribal influences, provide a too congenial soil for the cultivation of acquired vices.

The testimony contained in the volumes of evidence is abundant to this effect, but the Commission has no wish to dilate upon this aspect of the question, it being sufficient to direct attention

to the evidence of the witnesses who have especially touched upon these subjects.

The Commission considers that the restraints of the law furnish an inadequate check upon this tendency towards demoralisation, and that no merely secular system of morality that might be applied would serve to raise the natives' ideals of conduct or to counteract the evil influences which have been alluded to, and is of opinion that hope for the elevation of the native races must depend mainly on their acceptance of Christian faith and morals.

In this connection it has been observed by more than one witness that all that has been done for the regeneration of the native has been by the efforts of Christian missions, but such a statement cannot be accepted too literally. The Commission feels that from the earliest period of European settlement much good influence has been brought to bear upon the natives by individual benevolence and attention to their spiritual welfare. It was, and in certain localities still is, the practice of Dutch and English farmers and other Christian families to include native servants in family worship; while many of the larger employers of native labourers, both at the mining centres and in the rural districts, provide buildings and afford opportunities for religious services.

By admission to Christian households, and by the example of the uprightness and purity of many of those around them, a large number of natives have doubtless been brought under improving in-

fluences, but to the Churches engaged in mission-work must be given the greater measure of credit for placing systematically before the natives these higher standards of belief and conduct. It is true that the conduct of many converts to Christianity is not all that could be desired, and that the native Christian does not appear to escape at once and entirely from certain besetting sins of his nature; but, nevertheless, the weight of evidence is in favour of the improved morality of the Christian section of the population, and to the effect that there appears to be in the native mind no inherent incapacity to apprehend the truths of Christian teaching or to adopt Christian morals as a standard.

It does not seem practicable to propose any measure of material support or aid to the purely spiritual side of missionary enterprise, but the Commission recommends full recognition of the utility of the work of the Churches which have undertaken the duty of evangelising the heathen, and has adopted the following resolution:—

- (a) The Commission is satisfied that one great element for the civilisation of the natives is to be found in Christianity.
- (b) The Commission is of opinion that regular moral and religious instruction should be given in all native schools.

This official recognition of missions comes as a surprise to many persons, and yet the



Commission of 1881 was no less decided in its statement, but at that date there was not so much interest in South Africa, and probably the Report was never seen by any but those immediately concerned. The words run :—

While confining ourselves generally to the consideration of the improvement of the condition of the natives by means of legislative action, we consider we would fail in our duty to the Government and people of the Colony, if we professed to hold that only by means of such legislative action can the natives be caused to advance, or their condition be ameliorated. There are happily other beneficent forces at work, gradually remoulding their nature and character by guiding them to superior knowledge and higher hopes, as well as training them in civilised arts and habits and the social order of a well-regulated community. Among the most powerful of these operating at present are the various Christian Missions, which at great expense and with untiring devotedness, and in spite of heavy losses and manifold discouragements, have established their agencies throughout the native territories. The influence of these agencies in raising the natives both morally and industrially in their standing as men can hardly be overstated. The printed records of the Commission contain ample evidence of the success which has attended and continues to attend such

labours. A few adverse criticisms with regard to the results of their work have come to our notice, but these have not been substantiated, notwithstanding that even the best friends of missions admit and deplore the fact that what is accomplished falls far short of the objects aimed at and wished for. It is a sincere gratification, therefore, to the Commission to be able to bear its unanimous testimony to the high opinion formed, both from hearsay and from personal observation and experience, of the good which is being effected, morally, educationally, and industrially, by Christian missionaries among the native population; and we recommend that all the countenance, protection, and support which may be possible should be extended to them by the Government.

The Report goes on to speak of the high tone of the magistrates and their officers, and contains this noteworthy statement:—

The success of our government of the native tribes and the tranquillity of the country frequently depends as much upon the tone of the public servants we employ, and the character of their intercourse with the people, as upon the intrinsic merits of the measures we introduce among them.

A quarter of a century has justified this verdict, though the world is slow to accept

the axiom that whatsoever a man sows that shall he reap.

Still, while accepting what the Government says about missions, we want something a little more in detail that we may see if a Christian village in South Africa is at all like an ordinary village in England, for it is natural to take England as a standard of what we expect; and here we may say at the outset that there is little in a Christian community in South Africa that will recall anything English.

The narrative of a lady who stayed in Kafirland will give a fair idea of what life is on a mission, and her description would do equally well for a hundred places out there :—

I came here on Friday. The missionary drove to fetch me in a Cape cart with a pair of strong grey horses. We came down a hill like the roof of a house at a break-neck pace, but nothing happened, though huge stones were in every direction. Nothing ever does happen here, and the horses do not expect good roads as they never have seen them. Then we reached the mission, a house and church dropped on the outskirts of the moor, both

looking so poor and small to English eyes ; but I found a large welcome. I did not know these people before : they heard I was in the neighbourhood and alone, and that I had been ill. Those are the claims to hospitality out here, and now I have the best room and all that they can give. On Friday, as we went to bed, I remarked that the front door was open (my room is close to it on the ground floor), and the missionary asked if I felt cold.

I said, "Oh no, but surely you do not leave your door open all night?" and he answered, "Yes, we do. We have no white people here." A few small buildings with roofs of corrugated iron, a native school, a library, and a store; the public buildings, which comprise the post office and a room for the magistrate's business, when he comes, completes the village; and then there is the church, with its mud floor, form-like benches, and beautiful sanctuary.

On the Saturday the Kafirs come in from miles round, each carrying a blanket, and most of them with a mealy pot. Outside the school they cook their supper of mealies, and then in one room the women and girls, wrapped in their blankets, sleep on the floor, and in the other room the boys, and men do the same. They have left their farms and their work in order to be in time for worship on Sunday morning, and by 8 P.M. on Saturday evening not a sound is to be heard, for the ordinary chatter and laughter of the Kafir has given place to the awestruck silence which acknowledges that the creature is preparing to meet his Creator. And the sun goes down behind the terra-cotta moun-

tains, turning them and the sky to gold, and in the east rises a rosy glow, lifted higher and higher, while every shade of glory creeps across the scene for a short time, defying description. Then the vault of heaven is as blue again as by day, but now it is spangled with myriad stars, and the Southern Cross shines out against the coal-pit, and silence holds the world till sunrise.

Some one rings the bell near the church gate, and the sleepers in blankets arise; half an hour later the priest rings the bell again, and the silent people come. The women in their soft coloured *doeks* (turbans), some carrying babies slung on their back, young girls showing white teeth and flashing eyes, men and boys of all ages,—they enter the church door and kneel on the mud floor. As a rule the babies are quiet, but if they cry no one's devotion is disturbed by a baby. The lights are shining on the altar, and the priest comes in; no hymn is given out, and there is no musical instrument, but with one accord the kneeling crowd sing "Lira, lisa" (Veni Creator), for it is Whitsunday, and they sing it in harmony that would puzzle a white congregation. The air is an old Kafir tune, but very few sing the air; the basses, round and full, keep the time steady, the tenors are rich beyond description, and the flute-like notes of the counter-tenors wander in melodies of extraordinary power, while the whole is controlled by a discipline and restraint that is very wonderful. Most of the service is read, but the voice of the Kafirs has a music of its own, and when the

silence is deepest and awe has culminated in adoration, from somewhere (can it be miles away?) comes the *Benedictus* sung pianissimo, with the same sweet harmonies as before. It is all spontaneous and heartfelt. .

The writer tells what she has seen and the reader draws his own conclusions. Does this remind him of an early Sunday morning in an English village? The white trader and his family are not in church: they could not kneel beside their black brethren, so the safest plan is to stay in bed. Later in the day the white people will have a service of their own.

Now it is easy for those who are not interested in religion to skip this chapter, but it would not be true to write a book on South Africa and leave all reference to religion out of it, for by so doing we should leave a powerful element out of the lives of the people. We have followed the lines of the Commission on Native Affairs, where it is not possible to read a Blue-Book and ignore religion, neither has the Government of South Africa ever ignored it.

When the municipal authorities of Cape Town were puzzled over the question of native locations and failed to solve the difficulty of native labourers in the town who should sleep in their own quarters, the Cowley Fathers cut the Gordian knot, started a Kafir home which was self-supporting, which the civil powers inspected and commended, and which evoked much praise from 'The Cape Times.' It is best described in one of the Fathers' own words:—

Men of various tribes of the aboriginal people of Africa have for years been finding their way down to our ports seeking work. In 1884 the bishop gave to our community the spiritual charge of all natives living at this end of Cape Town. In January 1885 Father Puller opened a night-school for them in a hired room; Mr Gresley of Papendorp having offered to hand over to him the books and furniture of his school. This night-school developed before long into a hostel for native working men, where they were received for a small weekly rent, on condition of keeping a few simple rules intended for the good order of the house. The Kafir boarding-house was blessed and opened for five or six men in July 1886, and was called after S. Columba. It proved a great convenience to the men, and grew in numbers and in character. The few Christians

among them gave a tone to the life there. Night-school was held three nights each week, and the other evenings were occupied by a religious service, or a class, or a singing practice, or, on great occasions, a magic lantern.

The venture succeeded well. Among the old pupils Father Puller can count an excellent missionary ordained, and another native lay-preacher, who was martyred by heathen natives in the Mashona war. The new S. Columba's contains barrack-like dormitories for seventy or eighty working men, a handsome and reverent chapel, a large hall which serves as common-room by day and schoolroom in the evening, good lavatories, a kitchen where the natives make their own fire and cook each for himself (unless they prefer to do it outside in the quadrangle in the open air), and tidy rooms for the catechist and caretaker.

The heathen Kafir, from his kraal somewhere up the country, comes with his staff in hand, bare-footed and in the dirtiest rags, to the door and asks to be received into the home. He looks grave, humble, and suspicious; perhaps he notices in his fellow-countrymen, whom he sees within, not merely that they look happy and at home in their strange surroundings, but that there is something unaccountable besides—an air which is not known in the heathen kraal,—something in men's faces that reflects the liberty wherewith Christ sets men free. There is something it may be in this rough home to awe him, as well as to inspire respect and curiosity. He pays his week's



rent, 1s., 3d., appropriates his bed-board, and hangs up his rags on his peg. The rules are read to him: he is free to go in and out to seek work; he must not bring drink into the home, nor quarrel, nor use bad language; he must attend night-school three times a-week, and a mission service once a-week, and must be in at night at half-past ten o'clock.

Such is the opening of what turns out to be a fresh chapter in one native life-story after another. Skip a few pages, and this ragged man—this blanket Kafir, who has been for two years under Christian teaching with us, and has been received with a solemn service as a catechumen, and has been often present at the first part of the Kafir Eucharist—is standing at last one of a double row of candidates for baptism, with bare feet, at the edge of a deep tank, like a grave, in the floor of S. Philip's school chapel. The catechumens are clothed in dark blue serge garments down to the feet. The chapel is filled with a congregation of Christian Kafirs, and the whole service is in their own language. They make the baptismal vows audibly, turning westward in renouncing Satan, and to the east in pronouncing the Creed. Then as each candidate goes down the steps into his grave, he kneels so that the water reaches to his shoulders; at the name of each Person of the Trinity the head is bent and dipped right under the water by the hand of the officiating priest. As the baptised man comes out of his grave a white cloak is thrown round him, and he is led away to a room where he dresses. When all are dressed in their new white suits (linen

jacket and trousers), they return to their places by the font to listen to an address on the Christian privilege and the Christian obligations, and to receive the sign of the Cross marked on the forehead of each, and a small metal cross to be worn round the neck.

After the service tea is ready for them at the mission-house, for till now they have fasted.

Such is the first page in a new volume of life for the man who came two or three years before in the devil's livery of dirt and rags to S. Columba's. There remain other pages to go on to. Soon he will be confirmed by the archbishop; then he will be prepared for the Holy Communion; then he may, if he has the capacity, become a teacher in the night-school, or if he should volunteer and be found fit, a preacher to native heathen labourers living in crowded lodgings or locations on Sundays. Some of them are employed on the roads, some at the docks, some are servants in the large shops; and among them I can see dark faces in which this new light of baptismal grace has never gone out. Yesterday it met me in the greeting of a scavenger working for the municipality, returning, besom in hand, to breakfast after his long morning. Such a greeting, such a light, as sent me through half the day with gladness and encouragement. And this is no mere matter of imagination or sentiment, but of a changed life, of power, of love, and of a sound mind. I speak of renewal and Christian elevation in a life spent in cleaning the public roads and drains. The man is middle-aged; he has been one

of our communicants for perhaps ten years; when he sings at the mission service it is terrible to the critical ear, but music to Christ and the angels I think. I declare that I not only find natives capable of Christianity, but I find in these Christians of new races power and traits of Christianity which I had not known before; and that I begin to hope for a new birth for Christianity itself through the bringing in of these new peoples, unspoilt by a decadent civilisation.

The misunderstanding of the native character by the ordinary Englishman or Boer is wonderful. He tells you what he says is patent to every one who has any intelligence, that the native is really not *man* at all, he is the "missing link"; it is dangerous to give to the semi-brute privileges that belong to *man*: it was good statesmanship to deny to natives rights of marriage, education, and of walking on the side-path of the street in the town.

I must quote a friend who spoke to us, fresh from the experience of several years' spiritual work among natives. "The Kafir," he said, "is a gentleman: he is a person with enormous self-respect, gravity, discretion, and, within proper limits, trustworthiness. He cannot keep accounts—a fine gentleman, I dare say, cannot keep accounts—but he has all those characteristics which we are accustomed to think of, but very seldom to mention, as being those of a gentleman,—gravity, discretion, loyalty, and fidelity, and with that a certain 'caninness.' It is difficult to move the natives; they are not very free with their money; they are not

gushing people; they are like a very good kind of Scotch person—generous and affectionate, but not gushing. . . . In so far as they are awakened they yield in the most extraordinary way to Christ; so that if you start by saying the Kafir is a little hard, you must find yourself concluding by saying that no one is so generous, affectionate, thankful, loyal, and tender-hearted as the Christian Kafir.

“I want you to give up that common notion that nothing can be made of the African people. Everything can be made of them; and they exhibit precisely the virtues which we start with showing that they lack; and they also show forth the full value of these natural qualities which they have.

“Do not believe that the Africans are people who are feeble and falling away, people of whom nothing can be made. That is the nonsense which is talked by English people who have never been in Africa, and perhaps have never seen a Christian native at all.

“On the contrary, it is true that if I had to choose between two sermons to preach to natives—one that was easy and emotional, and another that was hard and theological and tried to lift people up—I should be right in choosing the one with hard doctrine in it, and with the greatest demand upon the spiritual faculties. They are people who rise up singularly into the power of understanding the mysteries of our holy religion. It is necessary to say that, because people come here and tell us it is no good preaching the Gospel to natives of Africa until they have had three or four generations of

civilised life, because until then they will not be able to understand a single one of the notions of the Gospel.

"They rise to the demands of the Christian life with splendid simplicity; their minds, which have not been destroyed and clogged with superstitions and prejudices, come to the Gospel with singular freshness and keenness; it is as if their whole mind leapt out to seize Christ."

There is a strange lack of logic in British reasoning, for while it is easily satisfied with the standard of life and conduct in England, it expects great things from the Christian in South Africa, if his skin be dark; for residence in South Africa is not supposed to produce saintliness in the ordinary Englishman.

An extract from an account of the consecration of S. Cuthbert's Church, Kaffraria, will give some idea of South African customs; it was written by one who was present<sup>1</sup>:—

It was about ten o'clock when the great service closed, and by that time it was hoped that the heathen would have arrived, and Canon Waters was ready to preach to them. But the heathen were not there. Mists in the early morning delay

<sup>1</sup>For leave to publish this account, we are indebted to the courtesy of the Community of S. John, Cowley.

these children of nature, and they were waiting the arrival also of their chief.

But in due time they arrived, and arrived in their hundreds, in festal array. The men with bead and brass ornaments, and hair done up fantastically with grass plaits, and with comb, or snuff spoon, or feathers, long chains of beads from their ears, bangles round feet and ankles as well as wrists, and probably every man with his charm in a horn or little leather pouch; and every man with his knobkerry for attack, and his second plain stick for defence: these all in their red blankets. Then the women in gay coloured handkerchiefs wound round their heads, and the women's two garments of red blankets with black-lined borders, and their faces smeared with light yellow clay—the ears, the lower jaw, the nose, and eyes,—a wonderful conception of beauty, indeed! Later on I counted some three hundred and fifty of these women, and some six hundred and fifty of the men. The chief, Edwardes Mtshazi, is, alas! an excommunicated Christian, but he came about eleven o'clock with some of his great men. He speaks English perfectly, and dresses and in other ways behaves as a European.

It was not possible to have any service for the heathen then, and about twelve o'clock a table was placed in the shade of a building, and chairs and forms brought around it, and the Bishop took his place to preside at what is called the "opening meeting." This is a peculiarly Christian native custom now, though it seems to need a good deal

of purging if it is really to stand. It is for the purpose of raising money, and as soon as the chairman has introduced the proceedings and given a donation, the people begin to come forward and, with a longer or shorter speech as a preface, put down offerings on the table, announcing in public the sum. The people waited for the chief to speak. He did so, and began with a modest ten shillings. In a little while he spoke again, and put down a shilling to open the mouth of the magistrate, who was present. *He* had then to speak, and so it goes on. By-and-by, goats and sheep and oxen began to be promised, and before the day closed the chief had given two oxen. The meeting went on from twelve o'clock until four in the afternoon, and was resumed in the evening at nine o'clock for about two hours. It was indeed a grievance that the singing, which was a feature of the evening meeting, was not allowed to proceed all night. It will, however, be recognised that some limit is needful to these methods of giving. Here is an example. Some one put down five shillings to hear a Kafir song from a certain choir; they came in and sang, and were about to give a second song when another person put down two shillings to stop this song and send them out. They had just sung their "doh" to get into tune, but they began at once to move out, when a third person put down three shillings to keep them in.

There is no almsgiving in this, but on the other hand people come prepared with certain sums or offerings, and the simple giving is true, even if

it is prefaced with a speech, and there was a great deal of this. The offerings of the day, altogether, in money and in kind, in church and at meeting, will probably amount to £400.

But I have gone too fast in this crowded day. At about two o'clock I saw a number of red Kafirs entering the church, men and women. I followed, and found myself in an extraordinary scene of wild people lost in wonder, running about gesticulating and shouting at the top of their voices. Father Godfrey interpreted this as really only nervousness and a way of reassuring themselves, as they are wont to do when they enter a forest. It was, however, disorderly, and gaining the services of an interpreter I set to work to get them seated and quiet, and sent for Canon Waters. He came just as I was straining the resources of my interpreter to breaking-point, and preached to an audience of quite three hundred on the great Rood, on the Lord who had died and risen again. He spoke to them standing in their midst in a conversational way, and they paid him great attention. We closed with a prayer, and they went out to make room for a white congregation and an English Evensong, at which the Dean of Umtata preached on the Church as God's Sanctuary for comfort, help, and refuge.

Here it should be said how heartily the white people of the district have entered into this festival. Numbers of the traders sent provisions, cooked, to provide for the influx of guests; and on the day itself practically the whole white neighbour-



hood drove or rode to S. Cuthbert's. This is something for which we are justly most thankful.

This service closed, we went out to find the great feast beginning. Seven oxen had been killed, and an army of some sixty cooks employed to cook the meat in numberless three-legged iron pots over wood fires, the wood of which had been brought in *gratis* by "red" women from the forest days before.

The guests, welcome and pleased to attend, and much looking forward to this part of the proceedings, were now arranged on the ground in companies from the different kraals, and the distribution of the meat began under the personal supervision of the chief, aided by his great men, some Christian, some heathen. Without this I do not know how we could have managed this part of the day's work. As it was, it passed off practically without any grumbling on the part of the people.

The men, then the women, then the children, till all at last were served,—counting the Christians, near two thousand people. It was at this stage I was able to reckon roughly the numbers. Then Father Puller brought out some sacks of tobacco. This was, indeed, an excuse for some rather tumultuous hustling on the part of the young braves, only checked by a vigorous use of the sjambok by one or two of the chief's brothers, which they took in very good part, and finally all filed between two school desks and carried away the coveted portion.

Now the day closed for the heathen assemblage, and they streamed away to their kraals, miles

away, all over the country. The Christians, however, assembled for one more service, Kafir Evensong, at which eight catechumens were baptised by immersion by the bishop. It had been a long day of fast for them, but they will not forget the day of their baptism, and of their profession before many witnesses.

I do not suppose many of the natives slept long this Wednesday night. Every kraal was filled to its utmost capacity, as indeed was our mission house, with its specially constructed street of grass huts and its tents, with the multitude of guests. But in the morning of Thursday the church was full again, and the bishop and those who assisted him gave communion to more than four hundred communicants.

Then came the farewells, and by Thursday afternoon the last of the twenty waggons, with their long teams of oxen which had filled our pastures, had leisurely rolled on its way homewards, and the people were well on their way to kraals which it would take some a day to reach.

On Friday, the bishop was called on for another three hours' service. It was the consecration of an addition to the cemetery, and after that a native confirmation service, following Evensong. Nine were confirmed. The weather was most beautiful, and we went in procession to the cemetery, about a quarter of a mile. The hills and valleys, stretching far towards Basutoland, shone out in perfect clearness in the warm light of the late afternoon sun.

The quietness and Christian peace of this afternoon, after the general excitement and perpetual motion of the great day, were very inspiring. We sang the Gradual Psalms on the way to the cemetery, and the Litany on the way back.

But this must be but a short Sabbath; now the living Church must go forth, renewed in heart and hope, to the gathering in of the heathen.

It is so little worth while to give spiritual statistics, that we will leave the Briton where he is, yet possibly this story of a Zulu soldier may interest some and surprise others.

About the year 1877 one of the missionaries, Mr Ofterbro, of Eshowe, had a class of people preparing for baptism. The class was held in the church, and consisted of a few old people and some little ones. The door of the church was, of course, open, and if any one liked to come in for a few minutes to listen, they could do so. Some who were not members of the class did drop in, in a casual way, and go out again. Among the people who did so was a middle-aged man, Maqamusela, one of the king's soldiers, but he differed from the others in that he did not hurry away, but came regularly time after time, and stayed till the end. Being a soldier, his name was not put down as belonging to the class.

At last the time arrived when some members

of the class were baptised. After the baptism Maqamusela came to Mr Ofterbro and said: "You baptised so-and-so and so-and-so, why did you not baptise me?" Mr Ofterbro asked him if he had not heard of the king's word, that if any of his soldiers became Christians he would have them killed; and told him not to be in a hurry, but to think about it, and pray about it. He finally came back and said that he believed that Jesus Christ wished him to be baptised, and he wanted Mr Ofterbro to do it.

There was nothing more to be said: he had counted the cost, he knew what it might involve, and he had made up his mind. So it was arranged that he was to be baptised on a certain day. But the king got to hear about it, and one evening, just before the day for his baptism, he was walking home from church, and, coming into a valley with some trees in it, he met the soldiers of the king, and they told him for what they had been sent. One of these men afterwards told Mr Ofterbro what had happened.

"Oh yes," said Maqamusela; "but you must give me time to pray first."

They made no objection, and being merely rough raw Zulu soldiers, they sat down in a ring round him to prevent his running away, and began to make themselves happy by taking snuff and talking.

Maqamusela stood in the middle, and began to pray. He prayed for himself, that God would have mercy upon him, and that, although he was

not baptised, He would receive him among His children.

He prayed for his wife and children, whom he was leaving behind. He prayed for the missionaries who had taught him.

He prayed for his king, who had ordered him to be put to death.

He prayed for the soldiers who had been sent to do it.

He prayed for many Zulus by name.

And finally he prayed for Zululand, that it might become a Christian country.

When he had finished, he said, "Now I have done."

Those soldiers, being merely raw Zulus, had sat down prepared to enjoy themselves; but when he began to pray they began to look and to listen; and, as he went on praying, they looked and listened harder, and they thought that there was something uncanny about it; and when he said, "I have done," not one of them durst lift his hand to kill him.

But they dared not go back to the king until that had been done for which they had been sent. It so happened that, on one of the hills near, there was a herd of cattle in charge of a young man: so they beckoned to that young man to come, and put a weapon into his hand, and told him what to do; and Maqamusela died.

—*From 'The Kingdom.'*

Is it possible that we need to clear our

minds and to choose our terms more exactly? Certainly, what we term European civilisation is eminently unsuited to the African, but that is in no way connected with Christianity; and the man who is prepared to speak against Christianising the African races will be wise if he waits till he has seen what has already been done there, wise if he studies the care with which individuals have been trained to honest daily toil as a part of religion, wiser if he goes into the matter for himself and does not trust to the reports of the casual visitor to Johannesburg, wisest of all if he drops his conventional standard and remembers what races made up the multitude on the Mount nineteen hundred years ago.

## CHAPTER V.

### NATIVE BEWILDERMENT.

IF we want to understand a man's meaning we let him speak for himself, and it is worth the weariness of a little repetition if we read the evidence of Radebe, the editor of a native paper, for he shows us some of the involved tangle in which a man may find himself through no fault of his own. The evidence forms part of the late Commission on South African Native Affairs :—

*Chairman.* What nationality are you ?—I am a Zulu.

Are you of Sesuto extraction ?—Yes.

Were you brought up in this Colony ?—Yes ; in this town.

Were you educated here ?—Partly.

What have you been doing all your life ?—I went to school when I was a little boy ; then I

went to a waggon-maker's shop for about five years, and I went to school at Lovedale after that.

Did you receive your education at Lovedale?—Yes.

How many years were you there?—Four years.

And then you came back?—Yes.

And what did you do when you came back?—I went on store-keeping.

Where?—In Commercial Road, in Maritzburg.

Do you know the country of Natal at all?—Not very much.

Have you had very much to do with the natives living in Natal?—Yes.

In what way?—I publish a paper.

Yes; but have you travelled about Natal?—Not in many districts, but in some districts.

And how have you seen the native people in Natal?—With the “Amakolwa” people I have always had meetings.

Although you may know the Christian people well, do you know the others, the heathens?—I would not say that I know them very much, I know a little bit of them.

Well, what are their thoughts; what are the thoughts of the native people?—Taking them as a whole? With regard to what?

To anything; what is in their mind about anything?—I did not quite catch the question.

Do they know that this Commission is sitting?—Yes.

And do they talk about it?—Yes.

What do they say?—The only idea that they



have got is that they are getting a lot of fresh laws again.

What makes them think that?—The reason is simply this—that they always hear that there is a law out, and they do not know who is the maker of the law, and when any assembly assembles they only think it is fresh laws coming.

You answered me just now by saying they think they are going to get a lot of fresh laws again?—Yes.

Do you mean by that that they have already had a lot of fresh laws?—Yes; from time to time we have had laws.

Do they think there are too many laws?—Yes.

Which laws do they think are superfluous, or not required?—In the first instance we had a law treating with the spoor—that is to say, when an ox or a horse has passed any station or kraal, then the owner of the kraal or kraal-head, or anybody that was there, had to follow and look after whatever was lost. Then we had the identification law, and that, in many cases, interferes with the natives.

Do you mean that the Spoor Law interferes with them?—No; the Identification Law.

Tell us how it interferes?—A man had been working here for two or three years——

In Maritzburg?—Yes. He gets a temporary pass, and at the finish of the temporary pass he goes home. He is probably residing at a location, and when he gets home—the first day he arrives home the chief knows about his arrival—he has

got to see the chief and ask him to give him a permanent pass. Before he can see the chief, the chief says, "You must go to 'isibhalo.'" Then he goes to "isibhalo" for about six months.

Just explain what you mean by that?—I mean he has to go out to road-party works.

Now proceed.—The second day, before he has got a chance to see the chief and report that he wants a pass, there is a policeman at his door, who says, "You are required for road-party works." He has to go to the road party without even telling his employer that he has been taken to the road party; or if he refuses, the kraal-head is charged £2, and whenever he gets to be fined again he is imprisoned.

Who charges the kraal-head £2?—The chief.

Is the chief the man who orders this native to go out for six months?—Yes.

Does he do that for any reason, knowing that the man has already worked for, as you say, two years?—The reason is simply this: a man who has been away from home for two or three years is really considered by the chief to be outside the chief's control, and that the chief cannot get him back; and when once the chief gets to know that he is home he sends him to the road party at once.

So as to establish his authority again?—Yes; so as to establish his authority again.

Go on; just tell your story; then what happens?—Then he has gone to the road party; and in some places the Christian people, the "Amakolwa" people, are taken to the road-party work. It is not

very long ago that one man who was an evangelist was taken to a road party to go and work there, although he fully explained to the chief that he was an evangelist, and that he was working with the Word amongst his people. That is one drawback to the Identification Law.

Is this done very much?—Yes, down country.

Then do those who feel aggrieved make any complaint or remonstrance to the magistrate?—They do not invariably do so, but if they did they would get no satisfaction, because the word of the chief rules.

Let me ask you again, is this done very much in Natal?—Not altogether in Natal, but down country and around the country.

Where do you call down country?—Indwedwe, and all those places round the coast.

Can you state any case in which a remonstrance was made through some magistrate or other person in authority?—This particular evangelist at Indwedwe went four times to the magistrate who was there at the time, and this magistrate, of course, was on the side of the evangelist. Then the magistrate was changed, and the one who was there now sent him out to the road party, and said he was a lazy man, and had to go and work for the Government.

Do these people know that they have also an appeal to the Secretary for Native Affairs?—Some of them know.

Have any of them gone to the Secretary for Native Affairs?—I could not state for certain.

Well, now, have you, as an editor of a news-

paper, taken up matters like this in your paper?—  
Yes.

Have you brought it to the notice of the Government?—Directly, or through the paper?

Either directly or through your paper?—Through the paper.

Directly?—No, not directly.

Then what do you suggest as a remedy for this grievance that you have shown us they suffer under?—It is very hard to suggest any proper way, because we are a people who are divided into two. There is one class who, in spite of all that they have got to complain about, want to bring it out through the chief. Then there are the “Amakolwa,” that is to say, the Christian people. They are, as it were, split. One lot wants to do this and the other lot wants to do that. They have no common way of taking their grievances to the Government.

What I want first to ask you is whether there should be, in your opinion, something in the law to prevent a man who has been doing good work for a considerable time, when he returns home being again called out to go to road work immediately; should there be a law to operate against a grievance like that?—Yes, there should be such a law.

But you have made no attempt to bring that to the notice of the Government?—No, not directly.

When you say that the people are divided, do you mean that the heathen people like their chiefs, and that the Christian people are divided, some liking chieftainship and some not liking it?—Yes; when I say that they are divided, I mean to say

that the heathen people still go according to their chiefs, and together with their chiefs, and the Christian people sometimes split on one common way that they want to take. They get up a meeting, and some do not want to attend that meeting; some want to go direct to the Secretary for Native Affairs, and others want to take their own way. They have no common way of taking their complaints to the Government.

What is your ideal?—It is simply this, that we are being governed by the European people just now, and there is no need to have two laws at all. We invariably find that we must follow laws that are made by the European people, and if the European people are to make another law, exclusive of their own, it would never be right. We must have one law, and we must grow, like children, into that law. I do not say we will all conform with the law at once, at the very beginning, but there are laws that we simply grow into and get used to. And it grieves a people who are under another people to know that it is only a common law to themselves, and that another man may do the same as a native does; but simply because the one man is a native and the other man is a European, they do not come under the same law. Although they may commit the same offence, these men do not come under the same law, and the native has to be imprisoned there and then.

Before a farmer can stop a boy getting a pass to go out to labour, has he not to show to the magistrate that he has a claim on the boy's labour him-

self?—The farmer leaves the boy outside, goes to the clerk, and tells the clerk, "This boy wants to go away: I want to stop him." The clerk takes the boy to the magistrate. The farmer speaks for himself, and the magistrate says, "Well, what do you want?" The native says, "I want a pass to go." The magistrate says, "But your master wants you: you had better go back," before he explains that there is somebody else, his brother or his cousin, working for the farmer.

We are left with the impression that Lewis Carroll must have visited South Africa either waking or sleeping, and it would be a relief if Alice would appear with her strong common-sense and sweep away the law-makers.

We open the huge volume at random, and, as we read, one witness after another sounds the note of warning, and yet to-day their evidence has not been so widely read as the evidence before the Royal Commission of Ecclesiastical Discipline, published more than a year later. But then, presumably, the understanding which can so readily grasp the intricacies of Church law is not trained in matters of native administration.

It is only because the day may come when we shall have to realise these matters that we venture to put before our readers the state of affairs so many thousand miles away, among people who, at least, are our fellow-subjects, and who know, perhaps, as much about us as we at this moment know about them.

We will hear the opinion of Rev. W. A. Goodwin, a missionary in Natal :—

But you think the Natal Government is alarmed. Have you any reason for knowing that, or is it only surmise on your part?—The Natal Government does not trust its natives as the Cape Colony Government trusts its natives. For instance, in the late war the Cape Government were willing to call out native reserves, under Sir Henry Elliot and his magistrates; but when it was suggested that Zulus should guard their own border here, the Natal Government would not hear of it. They were afraid to put any power into their hands.

In the same breath you object to the franchise?—Yes; my own view of the natives is that they are a subject class, and we cannot afford to give back Africa to the Africans. We are bound to remain here as masters, and we can in no sense put them on a footing of equality with ourselves, because we should be out-voted eventually; and, if we mean to

be masters in our own house, we must treat them differently, with respect to the franchise, to the way in which we treat our own white people. At the same time I do see a very great danger in not giving the native the franchise. It tantalises them to know that there is not a soul in the whole of the Houses of Parliament who will lift up his voice on behalf of the natives.

We turn over a few pages and we find still plainer speaking, and this time the speaker is Mr J. W. Shepstone, formerly Secretary for Native Affairs.

After many suggestions the Chairman said to him :—

Now, some of the things you have recommended have very far-reaching consequences. Do you think that these changes could be made in this Colony without having any serious trouble with the natives?—You mean, can we do it with safety? As it is I look forward to trouble if we allow the “drift” system in which they are governed to continue. So far as their renting of the land on the present system is concerned, you can easily take a location at a time and cut it up. I do not say for one moment that you would not have a little trouble. But you would have trouble, “Yea” or “Nay,” some time or other, and it is much better to take the bull by the horns. You must



remember that I have lived all my life amongst these people. I have had fifty years' judicial and political experience amongst them, and I speak from experience throughout. I know we will have to risk some trouble, but what are we to do?

Then various natives are questioned, and they give evidence on the wage question, about which so much dispute has arisen, and concerning which the Rev. G. F. Bird, who is working out there, has written:—

It has been proposed that the natives should be so paid and taxed that at the end of their time at the mines they should have a fair amount in hand, say, "£5, with which they could return home." What is £5 to the native who has worked in the mines at Johannesburg and wishes to return to his distant home? He has to pass through the Custom-house. He has in many cases to find his own way back home, little, if any, provision being made for his return after his work. Most of the "boys" working underground in the mines come from Portuguese East Africa, and the great majority are shipped from the port of Inhambane. The cost of passage from Lourenco Marques to Inhambane is £1, not including food or baggage expenses. Then he pays 18s. to land at the port, and he pays duty on almost everything he possesses. Natives have been known who failed to pass the Custom-house without relinquishing more than £7. Again it is pitiful

to see, as one does around the port of Inhambane, the great number of those who have returned broken in health, crippled, or blinded by the blasting in the mines, as no provision is made for them. What is £5 to do for them? Is this the "natural wage"?

These facts will help us to understand the constant repetition of the natives that after the war there were no wages to be had in the mines. Before the war the wage was on the average £5 a-month; this was lowered by the mine managers directly after the war to from 15s. to £2 a-month. Seeing how suicidal was this policy, the mine managers again raised the wage to £3 a-month.

We will return to the evidence before the Commission.

Josiah, you came with Simeon, and although you were not called, I would like to ask you whether you have any views to express to the Commission before you go?

*Gumede.* I should like to speak on work. The natives are very fond of work, but they are troubled by the white men. They are being obstructed in this way. The farmers detain the natives; they have work of their own to perform, and they keep the natives to perform that work,

and they only release them from their employ when the time comes to pay taxes to the Government; and then they only give them from three to four months in which to earn that money. Some, hearing that there is a good wage to be paid at Johannesburg and Kimberley, hasten thither in order that they may earn sufficient wages in this short space of time to pay the Government taxes and dog-tax, and to buy clothing for themselves and children and families. They hurry back for that purpose; they hurry back to the farms, to their landlords, in order not to overstay the time which they have been given leave by their landlords. On the locations the natives are detained by the chiefs, who hold them back in order to be able to supply the requisitions of the Government. Others, again, they release, and they go to the gold-fields. Others they release, and they come to the towns, and it is they whom you see in the towns, working. The majority of the natives in the locations are the ones we see employed on the railways and roads, and by the Harbour Department at Durban. That is all I have to say as far as work is concerned. The entry of Chinese and Indians to this country is not clear. There are many natives in Natal, and they are industrious; all they want is an incentive and a stimulus to work, by being paid a higher wage. The money so earned in time returns to the white people. We pay our taxes to the Government with it, and we purchase clothing which has been introduced by the white

people. When we see the Chinese and Indians being brought into the country we wonder to what crisis or precipice we are being driven by such action. We find that we are being brought face to face with famine. The white people have brought the Indians into the country, who earn money and take it away with them, and they are making the land poor. Now they are bringing similar people to the Indians. But we are here, and we disperse the money amongst our white people with whom we are living.

They prefer being at their kraals to going out and earning £4 a-month, is that so?—I cannot admit that: it is not what I meant. I said there are sufficient natives to fill the mines, which would be better than resorting to getting Chinese and Indians.

Where are those men?—In the country round.

What are they doing now?—Some are cultivating, and others are working for their landlords.

These men could go out and earn £4 a-month if they liked?—The sum of £4 a-month is not received as wages.

What are the wages?—As I said before, those are not the wages they actually receive. The natives have to find themselves in food, shelter, and clothing out of this money, and when they have done there is nothing left. It is only a small amount which they can remit to their homes to pay their taxes and buy clothing.

Do you, Josiah Gumede, agree with what Simeon has been saying?—I agree with him when he says

that if the wages were increased large numbers of natives would go up to work at the mines, but because of there being no wages up there, they have remained down here and work here. The wages have been reduced.

What do you mean by "no wages"?—The wages received up there are similar to the ones down here, and the natives prefer remaining down here.

What are the wages down here?—I hear that at Durban some earn 12s., and some 18s., and some £1 a-week, and those who work in kitchens earn from £1 to £1, 10s. a-month. The boys who come down from the mines tell us they earn £2 a-month; there are only a few who earn the amount of £3 and £4, and this wage they generally secure from outside people, not from the compounds, for driving carriages, and as mule drivers. For that reason they elect to remain and work here rather than go up there. While wages were higher up there, it was the people down here who wanted labour, and who complained of the natives going up there. Now I do not hear any labour complaint down here; the complaints I hear arise from up there. The money that they previously earned up there has been reduced.

Where do you get your information from?—Our boys, some of whom are employed at Durban, some at the city here, and some employed at the gold-fields.

Have you ever been to the gold-fields?—Yes, many years ago.

What wages did you get?—£6 a-month.

What were you doing?—I was making mattresses, and I used to despatch parcels.

Is it not a fact that any quantity of boys could find work at the present rates of pay if they chose to accept the work?—They earn this money here, and only a small number go up there: not nearly so many go there as used to.

That is because they will not go?—Because there is no money up there.

The native has the last word, and no amount of questioning will bring him to any other conclusion; but before the man in England forms any hasty judgment he must realise a little the price of everything in Johannesburg.

Perhaps enough has been said to account for the bewilderment in which the natives find themselves; and Kumalo's ambition seems as yet a long way from fulfilment, for it has by no means been made plain to the child-race of the world that under British rule the Almighty is at the head of all things.

## CHAPTER VI.

### COLONIAL CHARACTER.

FOR the first few months after a visitor has landed in South Africa he will be met with the invariable question, "How do you like the Cape?" and his favourable rejoinder will evoke the retort, "Wait till you have been in a south-easter!"

But even the dust of a south-easter cannot blind the Englishman to the many good points of the Colony.

These good points are sometimes so unexpected that the visitor is quite taken aback by the innate chivalry which he finds where he least expects it.

Years ago we were bidden by some hospitable neighbours out there to an ox-waggon

picnic, and though the nominal hour for starting was 7.30 A.M., we were kindly warned that there was no need to be punctual.

A little after nine the waggon appeared, its owner having waited to paint the inside sky-blue in honour of the event.

Now it may safely be stated, without fear of exaggeration, that in this prosaic period no owner of waggons in England would have thought of this delicate compliment to his patrons, and though we had to wait some time in order to tie up the blue beams with brown paper, nothing could overpower the suggestive odour of the paint, which for the rest of the day was a symbol of goodwill between two races.

If that be the attitude of the natives towards England, what is the attitude of the Colonist towards those who have come out, strangers and unknown?

The answer shames some of us at home, for the Colonist says by his practice, "Here is a stranger; he shall have all I can give him." And no house is too small to possess a spare room; and whoever goes short of food,



it is not the stranger, who has no shadow of claim on his host.

Perhaps it is in this, as in everything else that is so unlike England, that the charm of South Africa consists from a visitor's point of view. Not that the residents are of the same opinion. They tell you (believing it to be true) that Grahamstown is exactly like an English cathedral city; but if it be so, we English people must be singularly unaware of the characteristics of our country.

Pleasant as it is never to have to go upstairs, it is not English, and the possibility of carrying on a conversation from your bedroom with the early vendor of poultry or flowers, who appears long before the servant has arrived from the location, recalls no house-keeping associations in the old country.

Then where there is a garden full of strange and terrible reptiles, it is very convenient to have French windows opening to the ground, doubtless with the amiable presumption that these poisonous creatures, finding no bar to their entrance, will be the more inclined to deal leniently with the human being who

finds them in his bed, or hidden in his sponge.

And if life within doors is so different from English life, what can be said of the outdoor world, where, after all, most of the day is spent? The picnics, with the Kafir boy, a veritable Tweedledee or Tweedledum, laden with kettle and gridiron; the wild drives with any number of horses harnessed to a two-wheeled Cape cart, the ox-waggons with their shrieking drivers, the rough streets of the towns and the precipitous sluits,—all these things form features of South African life, but they find no parallel in England. Certainly you get more carriage exercise in a given time than is possible in most places. The horses see no reason for slackening speed going uphill, and the drivers see no reason for slackening going downhill, so you bound happily along and nothing happens; only occasionally the horse is lost when you want him, for he is turned out to graze wherever there is anything that resembles grass, with nothing to stop him from wandering miles away.

Yet, to do the horse justice, he seldom wanders far; he is not accustomed to be held or tied up, and he does what is expected of him. So do the children. They have no nurseries or special care, so they tumble up, part of the happy family life, and their parents are not vexed with theories of education and training; neither do elderly spinsters lecture to Mothers' Unions.

Thus it will be seen that in many respects life in South Africa differs from life in England, and we naturally ask, "Is the gain all on their side?" and then reluctantly we have to turn to the less pleasant side of the picture.

There is a want in Colonial life,—a want that is all the greater because those who suffer most from it do not know that they have it,—and it is the want of something old, some traditions, something to venerate. An Englishman does not realise till he leaves England all that he owes to the customs of his land. The cathedrals, universities, public schools, the laws of society, the history of a great past, all form part of his character,

and give him that mysterious heritage called "tone." But the Colonist is brought into contact with little that is old—no old customs, no old families, no ancient splendour; and the immediate result is seen most strongly in the boys and girls who grow up with little sense of reverence or admiration.

Besides this, in the perpetual sunshine of South Africa, life is lived almost continually out of doors, and reading does not form that part of education which it does at home. The larger proportion of the young people read little out of school-time, and their capacity for hero-worship lies dormant. They have never in imagination gone forth with King Arthur in search of the Holy Grail; they have never held the bridge with the Three; they have not rescued the Prince of Wales in an impossible civil war; they have not dreamed of martyrdom and the Victoria Cross. And thus in a country with no established traditions, no venerable institutions, the children have grown up an exaggeration of the most advanced type of youth in England. They have never imbibed

the real tone of a public school; they have never, unconsciously, realised the solidarity of their race; and if they do not love the highest, it is because they have not seen it.

The character of a nation or country is so intangible a thing that it lends itself to no statistics, and yet we know that what we desire for our colonies is somewhat on these lines,—that the tradition of ages, the heritage of culture, a true aristocracy, all that makes England's sons brave and good and pure, is to be taken into distant lands and to lift the native races to a higher ideal, a better life. It is a beautiful dream, but is it anything more than a dream?

We fall back on old principles, and it is only because we seem to state something new that we realise how far practice has fallen short of theory when we say that the true worth of anything is not what we get out of it, but what we put into it.

The wealth of England is not to-day measured by corn averages, or the price of tin, or the prosperity of her manufactures. You must apply a different test; and, thank

God, you will hardly know where to begin, and most certainly you cannot tell where to end, and the factors will seem to have little to do with commerce—lives of patient endurance and honest toil, men in all ages who have put honour before success, families where the father was pure and the mother prayed for and trained the children in all that was best, long years of patient work never recognised, desperate fighting for the oppressed against fearful odds, long nights of watching by sick-beds, and of cheerful hope in darkest days,—all these things show in no commercial returns, and yet they have helped to build up the Empire on a foundation that can never fail.

The grave of a William Wilberforce, what is it—six feet of crumbling dust? Yet we know that it outweighs the gold of Johannesburg or the diamonds of Kimberley; and as we pause in bewilderment, there comes the conviction that as the world is constituted, there is an eternal conflict between cash and character.

Character must win,—it always has won

and always will do so, and the man who throws in his lot with cash will in the end go under; but few believe it till distance has given space to judge impartially.

Look at Livingstone. As his funeral came through London not a bell was tolled, not a shutter closed, yet to-day Zanzibar Cathedral stands on the spot of the slave-market he deplored, and England has spoken against Africa's open sore.

Africa's millionaires live and die, and leave their huge wealth to good objects, yet the bulk of the world's happiness does not appear to be increased thereby nor its misery diminished: for, after all, it takes a life to touch lives.

Then the result is evident: if we wish South Africa to be a great country we should send great persons thither. The native races whom we wish to rule in justice and right should never see an Englishman who was unworthy of his name; and here it may be well to draw a very distinct division. Not of politics,—this book has nothing to do with party politics,—but to those who know.

South Africa the distinction must always remain between the man who goes there merely to make his fortune and the man who makes his home there, and by knowledge of native customs, by realisation of the bonds which unite one race to the other, by personal contact with his darker brother whose work is so necessary to him, has a right to speak because he knows what he is saying, and he dwells in the land for which he desires to legislate.

A careful study of Blue-Books emphasises this, for there is a consensus of opinion on important matters between old residents, whether they be commissioners, magistrates, missionaries, doctors, farmers, or others. But the possibility of acquiring great wealth in South Africa has introduced an individual who finds no favour in England, and is no gain to Johannesburg. Sir William Butler designates him as the "Bounder," and he gives the dictionary explanation of the expression as "a boisterous overbearing person." Public opinion would prevent this person from ever having much influence in the



councils of England, but in a new country (as far as our contact with it is concerned) individuals assume a disproportionate importance, and for a time appear to be able to make their voice heard.

Now, how far is England responsible for this characteristic, which is not conspicuous in the mother-country? The reply is obvious, that it is a failing of the individual rather than the community; and here we have the secret of the character of a new country. For in England individual life owes more than we know to the acknowledged standard of the community, whereas in the Colonies there is no organised community, and the individual who throws off the tradition of the old country is unconsciously starting a new order of things which affects not himself alone but the land of his adoption.

Now if England had always sent her best to a new country—her best sons, her best traditions, her best goods—she might reasonably have looked for a satisfactory return; but we know what has been the case. “Good enough for the Colonies” is a phrase with

which every one is familiar; and goods that were too shoddy for England have been shipped off. What was sown has been fully reaped, as will always be the case everywhere; and the results were not foreseen.

South Africa sees what we have sent her, and she forms her own opinion and formulates her policy. If we have there spent with a niggardly hand, keeping our choicest treasures at home, and giving only what we do not want, is it to be wondered at that the impression has grown up that we are governed by the spirit of gain rather than the wish to lay deep strong foundations of a future greatness? The natives have been the first to give a voice to what affects all so strongly, and in their eyes the white man's character is established as being one of personal gain. In Kafirland, just before the war, the traders from East London telegraphed to say that they would give £1 a bag for mealies. No sooner had this telegram reached the trader of the district than he went to the Kafirs and offered them 10s. a bag without saying a word of the rise in value.

Now it cannot be too often insisted upon that the natives judge us not only by the enactments of law or the sentiments of a Blue-Book, but by our actions in their ordinary daily dealings with us. Commercial honesty cannot be enforced by Act of Parliament, but some words of Mary Kingsley are worth remembering. "When once you get between two races the feeling of treachery, the face of their relationship is altered for ever—altered in a way that no wholesome war or no brutality of individuals can alter." A few years ago any white man could get the better of a native in a bargain, but he little realised what he was giving in exchange for his present gain—the honour of England, the dignity of his race, even the future safety of his children. It will be easy to deride all this in a review, and to say that we do not show an Imperial spirit; yet we venture to say that it is the men who have been grasping, unfair, deceitful, who have failed in their duty to the Empire,—men who have forgotten that wherever Britain's sons go, there will England be judged by their conduct.

The white race's comment is not in words, but in the reflection of what it takes for England's standard—a new country is a free hunting-ground, where the strongest may carry home his spoils; and thus action is changing into principles, and principles are forming a tradition which will not pass away.

Years ago a little boy busy with paints and brush was asked what he was doing, and his reply was, "I am painting a background." This is what is being done in South Africa to-day, and it depends not only on the residents of the country, but on England, what that background shall be.

A little consideration will show that the tendency of South Africa is to give back, not the reflection of England at her best, but the picture of what England may become if the commercial spirit be not restrained.

It is somewhat striking that none of these fears are stirred when we contemplate the thousands of fellow-countrymen in Canada, and possibly no one has ever met a man from Canada who could come under the term of a "Bounder." And yet there they have

a subject dark-skinned race, and when we pause to think of it we wonder why none of the many South African problems are repeated in that happy country.

Would there be any problems in South Africa if one day the world woke to find that all its gold and diamond mines had passed away? The result is not difficult to prophesy: there would be a sudden and great exodus of the population, and ships would be provided to start at once for China. But all the Government officials would remain, and the farmers and old residents, and all the missionaries and professional men; and perhaps when the earth no longer produced minerals, there would be time to realise the abundant harvest that might be made out of fruit in the Eastern Province if a scheme of light railways were carried through the district of Whittlesea, where in January and February so bountiful a supply of fruit rots on the ground because there is no means of carrying it away. Hans Andersen never went to Africa, yet his 'Snow Queen' reads strangely like a South

African parable. The splinter of ice strikes Kay's heart, and it becomes cold and dead; diamonds, ice, gold, they are much alike, and they will be to the end of time; but it was in the flower-garden that Gerda found the woman who could conjure. And when love and tears have at last melted the splinter of ice, the mystic word "Eternity" is formed which sets the captive free, and the children run home singing—

"Roses bloom and roses decay,  
But we the Christ-child shall see one day."

But the end of the story has not yet come for the children of South Africa, and the shining splinter lies too deep to be easily reached.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE VOICE OF AUTHORITY.

SOME extracts from the Commission are worthy of notice, and the first given cannot fail to strike an Englishman, who is tempted to ask why the conclusions with regard to religious education differ so materially from those put forward by the Home Government.

But the question would receive no answer, so we shall do better to consider the Report itself:—

The Commission does not recommend any measure of compulsory education for natives, nor does it consider it advisable that any system of general public undenominational education, independent of existing missionary organisations, should be undertaken at present. There would be a distinct loss in the separation of secular instruction from moral and religious influences, and

the cost of any general scheme for the establishment of undenominational schools for native children would be prohibitive. Nor does there appear any present necessity to unduly force the extension of education among the native population. Their own growing desire for it, and the energy exhibited by the mission bodies to compete with each other in the matter of providing schools, seem to assure considerable future expansion. But the resources of these mission Churches are limited as to men and means, and there are parts which their organisations have not reached, and in which there may be, and in places is, a local desire among the natives for means of education. With reference to such neighbourhoods and elsewhere, it is necessary to consider and decide upon the question whether native schools established, or to be established, in full compliance with the regulations of Government and under its supervision, but without European missionary control, should be recognised and aided or not. The Commission, while admitting that there is much opposition to the view, hold that recognition and aid should be given. The movement is a legitimate one, and if such schools are well conducted, adequately supported by local native contributions or rates, comply with public requirements, and are recommended by responsible inspectors, their reasonable claims should be met, as this course would bring them under control, and would not only ensure that the teaching should be efficient, but that the moral tone should be what is desirable.



Those who have never been in South Africa do not realise to what extent education has grown, and they will share the writer's surprise in talking to a native whose ambition it was to go to an English university.

Years ago, after driving many miles across the veldt, we came to a round mud hut, which proved to be a native school. As it was already full when we went in, some one had to come out, so the scholars were dismissed, and three red Kafirs sat on the ground, wrapped in their blankets, watching the missionary make ink. But sight was not the only sense affected that morning, and we soon found it desirable to move out through the low doorway.

The teacher came out also, and one of the pupils, a lad of eighteen, clad in a patrol jacket of the West Yorkshire regiment, surveyed us gravely from a little distance.

"Are you from home?" said the teacher in faultless English. "I have been to England and I love the country."

Then he began to talk of himself, by which it will be seen that there is a bond of uni-

versal brotherhood which defies all differences of race, and his story was on this wise :—

“When I was a boy I observed that the English were the greatest nation in the world because they were educated, so I determined to be educated. I ran away from home and went to a mission school, but my father fetched me back and beat me and sent me to work in the mines. I ran away again and was again beaten, and then I joined the Jubilee Singers and went to England. We sang before the Queen and in many places, and I saved all the money I got and put myself to school at a grammar school in Wales. I stayed there till I had made some progress in Latin, and then my money came to an end, so I went to America singing, and earned some more, after which I returned to school, and was just beginning Greek when my money again came to an end. So I returned to my own country and became a teacher. But why,” he cried with sudden animation, “should our people not be as the Indians? See! this year one of them is Senior Wrangler.” (The lists were only out

that week.) "I shall not be satisfied till I have been to Oxford or Cambridge."

These are the men who read our papers and know all about us, though we may know nothing about them; and probably at this moment the natives of South Africa know far more about England than England knows about the natives.

The second extract from the Commission shows how difficult it is to enforce what is desirable, and points indirectly to the complications that must arise from the mixing of two races. It deals with the question of liquor:—

The weight of evidence before the Commission in regard to the liquor question has been overwhelming in favour of total prohibition to natives. In the course of its inquiries in this connection it came to the knowledge of the Commission that upon many farms in certain areas it is the practice to supply the labourers employed with intoxicating liquor as an incentive to work, or as part wages. This applies particularly to farms in the wine-producing districts, and in less degree to farms and industrial estates of various kinds in other parts of South Africa. At some mines Kafir beer is sup-

plied to native labourers as an anti-scorbutic under regulations approved by Government. Other employers and contractors on large works follow the objectionable practice first described. It has been urged by some witnesses that the system of stimulating or rewarding labour by issue of liquor rations is established by long usage, and that without it labour cannot be procured; while others contend that the practice is pernicious and demoralising, and must ultimately lessen the physical value of the labourer.

The Commission has carefully weighed the issues, and does not consider that there is sufficient justification, where the measure of total prohibition is or may hereafter be put in force, to make any exception from its operation in respect of any native labourers in any part of the country. As will be seen from the resolution quoted hereafter, the Commission does not oppose the use of Kafir beer by such labourers in moderate quantities and under due control.

In favour of the exemption from prohibition of natives who are Parliamentary voters, as in the Cape Colony, excepting the Transkei, it has been urged that having qualified for the franchise they may be assumed sufficiently advanced to have developed self-restraint and self-respect enough to be freed from all restrictions in respect to liquor. Experience, however, disproves the assumption; the fact being that the native is constitutionally incapable of being a moderate drinker, and that he will

drink to excess, and when in drink all the failings of his nature assert themselves.

The evidence shows that the natives themselves and their best friends unitedly desire prohibition. Even were it otherwise, the Commission would not recommend an exemption which must inevitably increase the manifold obstacles to the effective administration of prohibitive legislation.

Where the supply of liquor to natives has been prohibited, difficulty has arisen, as was to be expected, in the detection of contraventions of the law. The natives are unwilling to give information against dealers from whom they purchase direct illicitly; while low-class persons, both Europeans and coloured, have opportunities of procuring liquor and of supplying it to natives under conditions so favourable as almost to defy conviction. The Commission recommends that, in order to deter the class of person mentioned from practices of this kind, and to deter licensed dealers and all others from breaking the law, the penalties attaching throughout all South Africa to conviction for supply of liquor to prohibited persons, should be such as to leave no doubt of the serious light in which the offence is regarded.

It is further recommended that no liquor licence should be issued where the surroundings point to the conclusion that a licence is really sought as a cloak to cover illicit sale to natives.

In pursuance of these views resolutions were unanimously passed as follows:—

- (a) That the sale or supply of spirituous liquors to natives should be prohibited.
- (b) That the penalties for the contravention of the laws or regulations prohibiting the sale or supply of liquor to natives should be uniformly severe throughout South Africa.
- (c) That no licence should be granted to sell or supply spirituous liquors within any native location or reserve, or in the proximity thereof, where the reasonable conclusion is that no remunerative business can be conducted without the sale and supply of liquor to natives.

In regard to Kafir beer it was unanimously resolved—

That the manufacture of Kafir beer containing not more than 4 per cent of spirit be permitted for home consumption; that the holding of Kafir beer parties on private property be under restrictions, and in native locations or areas in which natives are congregated be regulated by Government, and that the sale of Kafir beer be prohibited.

The Commission bears in mind that Kafir beer is food as well as drink, and taken in moderation, has proved itself of great value as a preventive of scurvy and kindred complaints to which the native, whose diet seldom comprises anything of the nature of green vegetables, is very liable to succumb when unable to obtain a supply of his accustomed beverage.

There is little doubt that in this matter the voice of England will be with the Commission, but in the next extract we touch a more thorny question. It concerns representation, and after saying that in Cape Colony the natives have been admitted to the franchise on equal terms, it says :—

In Rhodesia the law is the same as in the Cape Colony, but at present there are only fifty-one native voters. In Natal, after many years of nominal accessibility of franchise rights, only two native voters figure on the rolls. In the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, under Republican administration the natives had no vote. One object of the Commission's recommendations is to secure in due time in these Colonies also a measure of representation to the natives, which hitherto has not been accorded to them. In favour of this it may be urged that they are rising in the scale of civilisation; they are in many cases increasing in material wealth, including the holding of land; they are becoming good workers in mines, and more or less skilled in other industries; they contribute to the revenue in direct and indirect taxation; their labour is a valuable economic factor in South Africa, and for these reasons their interests should be represented in the legislative bodies of the country, otherwise such interests might unduly suffer for lack of expression and publicity.

The Commission has the fullest confidence that once the franchise in respect of natives is placed upon a fair and permanent basis throughout South Africa, more attention will be given to educational and other interests of natives, which hitherto have rather been in the background or have been prejudiced by the more obtrusive question of their political status.

The subject of representation is closely allied with that of taxation, and in considering native questions it is well to realise how much the natives contribute to the revenue. It is a little startling to see how dependent British South Africa is on the native when we remember that besides taxation all the actual work in the country is done by natives. Once more we quote Sir William Butler:—

Perhaps the most remarkable thing about him [the native] is the fact that while we need him very much he does not need us. He could do without us, and under the present conditions of life in South Africa nothing is more certain than that we could not do without him. If it be even remotely true that the withdrawal of 40,000 Chinese from the mines of the Witwatersrand would cause the industry of that region to collapse, what would



happen if the 200,000 black men who are at work in Johannesburg in mines and other occupations were to leave their employments?

Roughly speaking, it would be correct to say that at least eighteen-twentieths of all manual labour in South Africa is performed by black or coloured people. As we know labour in England, they are the only labourers. From infancy to age the white man has his labour done by the black "brother" (?). The white baby is rocked in the cradle or wheeled in the perambulator by a black. A native digs the dead man's grave. A coloured coachman drives the white bride and her white husband from the white man's church. It is absolutely and entirely true of this black man to say that he is equally at home in minding the baby or mining the mine.

And yet we are constantly being told that the black man won't work. 'Tis a sermon which our white brethren are never tired of preaching. They were preaching it when I was here more than thirty years ago. They are at it still. Turning back the leaves into the time of that dead generation, I find this is what I then wrote about it at Kimberley: "Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia have all sent their representatives to Kimberley. The African delves in the mine, the representatives from the rest of the world buy, sell, and drink in the town." If Johannesburg be substituted for Kimberley the description will stand fairly well to-day. Indeed a philosopher might possibly derive some comfort from the marked

devotion to parental example which, in this respect at least, the present white generation shows to that which went before it. Despite Mr Kipling's pessimism we do not forget.

We turn to see statistics with regard to taxation, and the figures from the Report are by no means inconsiderable:—

An estimate of 2s. per head per annum as the average amount contributed by all the natives throughout British South Africa in indirect taxation appears to be a fair one, and as that is the amount shown by the Basutoland and Bechuanaland figures—and no equally definite figure is before it—the Commission accepts it as a basis of calculation. On this basis the amount contributed in duty on imported goods by the whole native population of the country is £465,266.

The articles which bring in the largest sum are blankets and rugs, which are subject to the duty of 25 per cent. Hoes and agricultural implements are free.

The Commission has no recommendation to make in regard to individual duties, and points out that the way to increase the total of the native's contributions to the revenue under this head is to increase his wants and his capacity to earn money, while at the same time creating, if possible, a condition of things which, by natural pressure, will compel the native to work more continuously.

Turning now to direct taxation—

In the shape of poll- or ordinary hut-tax the natives paid during 1903-4 to the Governments of South Africa . . . £792,094

In general rate for local purposes . . .  
under the Glen Grey Act, Divisional Council road rate, passes, they paid . . . . . 80,454

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£872,548

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The proceeds of the Divisional Council rate, and of taxation under the Glen Grey Act, are spent by and on the natives themselves, through their local governing bodies, for local purposes. The Europeans, however, benefit in common with the natives in respect of expenditure on roads, which absorbs a large share of the amount collected in rates from the native people. Deducting the estimated total of these rates and taxes, say, approximately, £19,000, there remains an amount of £853,000 annually contributed by the natives in direct taxation for general purposes, or about 3s. 9d. per head of the total population of 4,652,662.

No figures are available to show how much of the total annual expenditure of every Government should be fairly charged to the natives, if an accurate account were struck with them. The first cost of the administration of natives and their affairs, shown in the various Budgets, amounts to a little over £484,000. But this first cost of administration is arrived at in various ways, the

same head of expenditure being sometimes charged to the natives and sometimes not. For instance, in Natal the amount is £25,000 only, the cost of magistrates and police, &c., not being taken into account in this figure.

The more we look into the subject of the races in South Africa, the more we see that each is dependent in a measure on the other. We cannot now consider the country as if the white man's rule had never been there, for we have gone and made changes, and the native can never again slip back into his old place. He does not desire it, and nothing is a greater mistake than to think that the black man wishes to oust the white man: he wishes, naturally, to get rid of any injustice he may receive at the hand of the white man; but such treatment at present he regards as exceptional, and caused by individuals, not by the will of the Government.

That this faith is somewhat shaken just now none who have talked to Zulus can doubt, but it is not yet too late to restore their confidence. We will take a page out of the evidence of the late Commission, and

hear what one of the natives, a man named Kuneme, has to say for himself:—

*Mr Samuelson.*—Pass on now to the next statement, in which you say you disagree with Maling. —I disagreed with him when he said that land should be got in some of the other colonies, and somewhere else, to establish the natives in a large settlement—a colony, as it were. We are all the subjects of the same king, and under the same Government with the white people. Whether we are in this colony or in other adjoining colonies, we lived amongst them and have lived amongst them for years. We should not aim at separating ourselves from them and having a sort of country of our own. We must live amongst them, and look forward to the time when we will be placed entirely under the same laws as the white people amongst whom we live. Our independent existence as a people has passed away long ago. We have been subjects of the British Government for many years, and, according to our usages, the subject race had to adopt and to come under the laws of the conquering race. It is understood that that was so: those who became masters, became masters in every respect, and their laws became the laws of the subject people. That is what I wish to say.

*Mr Hamilton.*—What would the native population do if they were left to rule themselves? What would become of them if there were no white men to rule and to protect them?—If the white people

and the King were to desert us now and to leave us here, there is a large section of us who have approximated to a great extent to the white man's ways of living, to the white man's thoughts, and to the white man's way of doing things; and there is a large number of us natives who have not advanced at all, who have remained as they were practically in former days. I am afraid that those who thus remained in their former state would kill us all, particularly civilised natives, because we have bought lands: they do not approve of the ownership of lands. They know, too, that whenever there has been a war against other natives like ourselves, we have always been with the Government, and gone out to assist them in those wars; and when there has been a war between white people we have been with our rulers. Therefore we feel we are far better under our Government, and would be far better than if we were deserted and left to the mercies of our people.

And would the heathen natives fight amongst themselves?—Yes, they would; because every chief would like to be the biggest chief, and there would be struggles amongst them for supremacy.

There would be no longer, then, any security for life or property?—That is so: the person who would have the greatest strength to overcome others would come to the top and be supreme.

*Our independent existence as a people has passed away long ago. These are remarkable*

words, and they are worthy of consideration, for they do much to disabuse the ordinary Englishman of the idea that the constant aim of the natives is to throw off the British yoke in rebellion, and be once more an independent people. Whatever the future holds for South Africa, the original condition of the country will never come again.

We may picture the splendid dark-skinned men in their myriads sweeping down the heights, led by their chiefs, with the grand range of mountains in the background and the glorious vault of sky above them, and we hear the war-cry, and know that from one end of the country to another not a single white man's voice is raised in authority, and all the civilisation of the white man's world has been set aside.

But it will never be anything more than a picture, for if the white man's rule were removed, the native would still wish to model his kingdom on the same lines : he has passed out of his barbaric state, and as the Princess said to the little schoolmaster, Mark, " Nothing ever comes over again."

A step forward has been made and it is impossible to go back, and perhaps at this moment nothing is of such supreme importance as that each race should understand the other.

England has been so repeatedly told that the natives are idle and will not work by the men in South Africa whose voice is most clearly heard, that one statement in the Commission comes as a surprise.

The theory that the South African natives are hopelessly indolent may be dismissed as being not in accordance with the facts. Even the simple wants of the native population cannot be supplied without some degree of exertion. The population of 4,652,662 has to derive its sustenance from a soil which is not everywhere fertile, and the native agriculturist has to contend with the same drawbacks of drought and pestilence that beset the European farmer. The labour of tilling the soil, weeding, and reaping is shared, but is by no means exclusively performed, by the native women; and the representation of the native living at his own village a lazy and luxurious life, supported by his wife or wives, is misleading.

The main reasons for the existence of the labour difficulties may be summarised as follows:—



The native populations have always been pastoral and agricultural.

The rapid increase of South African labour requirements, particularly during the last quarter of a century, has found them to a great extent unprepared to meet the new conditions which surround them.

The normal condition of native life is that of a small cultivator and herdsman, and the circumstances of their history have never developed among them a class accustomed to, and dependent upon, continuous daily labour.

The inexpensiveness of their living, the limited nature of their wants, and the comparative absence of incentive to labour.

The terms on which they occupy the land.

Given such a population, possessing easy access to the land, it would have been extraordinary if the present situation had not followed on a very rapid growth of industrial requirements.

Except in the case of farm labour and the like, which is specially suited to the native, it must not be forgotten that what is known as paid labour generally means to the native, as a rule, absence from home and family, and in some employments irksome, and often hard and dangerous work, and the abandonment of the ease, comforts, and pleasures of native village life. As further discouragements, there have been breaches of agreement by contractors, misrepresentations by labour agents and touts, and occasional harsh treatment, which have

tended to shake the confidence of the native. The rate of wages, nominally high, has to be considered in relation to the purchasing power of money at present South African prices, and it must be remembered that the native has as a rule to pay top prices for his purchases.

Now this is not an individual opinion, but the judgment of the Commission, and as we lay it down we are tempted to ask, "What is the good of a Royal Commission?" Is it a Micawber-like proceeding which, when it is once written down, is thrown aside and thought of no more, or is it really an accumulation of knowledge on which future actions are based?

If the latter be the correct view, then it is worth while to reconsider the economic conditions of Natal on the lines suggested by Mr Justice Beaumont, Judge of the Supreme Court, whose evidence points out a way in which native labour might be used profitably while the natives remained on the land. Strange it is that while in England the cry is how to get men back to the land, in South Africa the great effort has been to

take them from the land to the centres of commercial industry. It is all part of that upside-down policy which would make the author of 'Through the Looking-Glass' the truest historian in South Africa.

We will consider Mr Justice Beaumont's point of view when he was asked—

Have you studied or thought at all of what is called individual tenure in some of the neighbouring colonies?—I have no experience of the neighbouring colonies, but I have suggested that a trial should be made in Natal, and if it had not been for a little bit of ill luck, I should have carried it out in my own division. I feel certain that there is a very strong chance of its proving successful if it is only carried out as I say, in a limited area, with proper supervision, and by a proper selection of people to start with. I think the thing can be done, but it is a thing that you must start in a small way and let it grow. I think that it would succeed, but we have as yet made no attempt. The only attempt that has been made in this colony has been by a few missionaries, and, as I have said all along, they failed because they tried to mix up the religious and social sides of the business, and there was no independent supervision. I think that if a suitable piece of land was selected, and if men who were willing to try the experiment were

planted on that land, but put under European supervision and guidance, it would be found to be a success. I believe that this country is admirably adapted for small farmers, and we cannot cultivate the country or get what we ought to get out of it because no Europeans will go on small plots of land, as it will not support them, and it does not pay them. They want large farms. And if you attempt, as we have attempted over and over again, to introduce European small settlers, they will come to grief: it will not do. A point on which I am perhaps singular in my opinion, as far as present conditions are concerned, and as far as present prospects are concerned, is that I think that Natal will never be a white man's country. I say, "Very well, if you can import Europeans on a large scale, and plant them in the country so that they can earn a proper living and establish themselves, well and good; but have you ever done so, and have you ever succeeded? It has always been a failure. The country does not lend itself to it. The conditions are not favourable, and we have not got the money, the means, to launch out on a big scheme in a proper way; and until the country is prepared to do that it is hopeless." I admit that, supposing we were to find some mineral wealth which would create local industries and bring in a white population, there might be something in that. I am not speaking of the Transvaal or of the Orange River Colony, where conditions are quite different; but I say of Natal, "What is there to make this a white man's country?" And

if you once recognise the fact that you have your Europeans increasing at a small percentage, and that you have your natives, on the other hand, protected in every favourable way from everything that used to kill them off in the old days, and that you have them multiplying at an enormous rate—what is going to be the end of it? If you once recognise the fact that this is going to be a black man's country, you need not be afraid of it. I say if you will only educate these natives and train them to be an agricultural people, you will have the whole country cultivated in time by these people, and they will produce ten times the wealth out of the country that they are doing now; and not only that, but you will support three or four times the white population that would be supported under any other circumstances. The country has to be developed by the black man under European supervision if it is going to be made anything of at all.

Supposing the country produces, through native agriculturists, ten times, as you would say, more than it now produces, would you be able to grow as much stuff for export?—That is quite possible: you never know what the possibilities are. Take cotton, for instance. Our difficulty in experiments of that kind has always been labour. But supposing that I had a district which was occupied by small agriculturists, as it is in other countries, and supposing that these men were going in for an industry like that because they found that they could export, then they would all help each other, and the labour difficulty would be got over. With

this difficulty surmounted there would be all sorts of possibilities. I do not suppose, as a matter of fact, that we would grow nothing but mealies, although mealies can be grown on every hill and in every valley of the country. Of course the market for that is limited, I understand, and that is what keeps back Natal. That is one of the principal reasons why you cannot have a white population in Natal, because up to the present time you have not discovered any staple article of export. You cannot grow a great quantity of anything, because you are limited to your local market.

At this point we begin to see a South Africa, happy and prosperous with a new prosperity, not a land of savage tribes and perpetual warfare, nor a land of a great struggle for wealth where commercial magnates grow rich and retire; but a land where the subject races move with a peaceful freedom in their own homes, happy under British rule and guidance, and confident that no one will rob them of their rights.

The Blue-Books desire it, the natives themselves desire it, and perhaps the rest of the British Empire would desire it if every one understood the matter. Maggie Tulliver was

sure that she could have understood the mystery of her aunt's bonnet if it had been explained to her, and on the same lines perhaps we could understand the black and white tangle if the right exponent came our way; but we must beware of the ever-ready danger which beset Rehoboam, who forsook the counsel of the old men and followed the advice of the young men, thus bringing about results he little foresaw.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### CAUSES OF FRICTION.

“THE law under which I was born is the law of the English people—the law under which any one who is wronged by somebody else has some one to inquire on his behalf and to protect him.”

England may well be content with this summary of her rule given by a Zulu, and yet the words are strangely at variance with the statement of the headman who said that the English had made their land become to them a land of tears. In which of the two extremes does the truth lie?

Unhesitatingly we follow a great example, and we say that it lies in both; for while the law is all that the Zulu expresses, the practice of the white people residing in South



Africa is often strangely foreign to the spirit of England's law. If the white men in the country had been all high Government officials and missionaries, or if, in a word, they had each had the heart of Sir Theophilus Shepstone in his early days, there would never have been any friction between the races; but, unfortunately, we have to consider not what might have been in that vast land which we call our own, but what actually is.

Now, possibly, the following incident will give a clue to the spirit of distrust and suspicion which the natives feel for us to-day.

Among the Kafirs there is a custom that certain of their great men wear ivory armlets, and for these armlets they would give the value of two or three pounds. But an English manufacturer discovered a substance resembling ivory, in which he could make armlets at a cost of something like elevenpence apiece. So he made them by the thousand and sent them out to the traders at a small profit; but the traders saw no reason for explaining to the chiefs that they

were of an inferior quality to ivory, and in some cases they sold them for the original price. The chief lay down in his hut before the fire, and his armlet melted from his arm. The native races are in their infancy, but even a child learns whom he can trust, and this commercial immorality has sown seeds that generations will not eradicate. The white man is a man who comes to take what he can get, and they must be on the defensive.

“What have you come to get?” they asked a bishop. “The last white man came for our diamonds, the man before came for our gold, and then one came for our men to work in his mines. What will you take from us?”

There would be one effective way of saving South Africa if it were possible, and that would be the enforcement of a Pass Law for white people, which would only admit to the country men who were fit to be there. The irresponsible man who returns with blissful inaccuracies about the “beastly nigger,” in whose eyes he has done so irreparable an injury to his empire by his conduct, is the

real cause of the native unrest, and should bear the blame he gives to his dusky brother.

A paragraph very much to the point appeared not long ago in 'The Women's Tribune,' and its bearing applies to many countries.

It would be well for English people to consider whether they should not endeavour to avoid every cause of irritation, especially patronising or contemptuous behaviour and manners. It should not be an exceptional and derided trait to treat individuals of subject peoples according to the rank they hold among themselves, and as gentlemen, until they are proved not to be so, in the same manner that the English law assumes the accused to be innocent until it is proved that he is guilty. The following little incident is in point. A lady travelling in Algiers and Tunis with her son, a young lieutenant fresh from Eton and the Woolwich Academy, told him that if he insisted on calling the natives [Moors] "niggers" she would forthwith cut the journey short and return to England. When, ultimately, not immediately, they did return, she overheard him say to a friend, "The funny part about it, you know, is, that these Arab fellows are all gentlemen."

Yes, and what is still funnier, is that they expect us all to be gentlemen too. Not long

ago a Zulu was talking (in faultless English) of some of the causes of the present disquietude, and in speaking of the rudeness of some railway clerks to natives, he said, "They are not gentlemen."

The obvious reply was that we do not expect railway clerks to be gentlemen; but on reflection we find that, whatever their birth may be, we expect them to behave as gentlemen, and to show to all alike courtesy, consideration, and attention. In all business relations in England we expect and we find these qualities. The country tradesmen hands the parcel across the counter and thanks his customer, whether the customer be the wife of the squire or the wife of the labourer; for though outside the shop their relations would be altered, inside his shop each is his patron, and as such he gives them his services.

But in South Africa you do not find these qualities exhibited to natives; it is their place to find out what they can for themselves, and the fact that they are customers is not acknowledged as any claim on the manners of those who serve them. The native may go

to the railway station and take his ticket, the train may come in and go out, and no one tells the patient Kafir that he ought to cross the line and get in; for his business is not the business of any one else. Now, no one doubts that this state of things, which exists at many country railway stations, would be strongly condemned by Government officials if they were aware of it; but how can they become aware of it? In England public opinion would soon make itself heard if our labouring class were so treated; but in South Africa public opinion (*i.e.*, white opinion) does not concern itself with the native, and he has no one to represent his case to the Government.

There is a novel lately published, in which a little Egyptian boy is brought to Ireland to be educated as an English gentleman. He is clothed in English garments, has English food to eat and English toys to play with, but no one really loves him or understands him, and at last this mere baby starts off in the cold and wet to reach Cairo by himself. Of course he is brought back, cold, and sad,

and ill, and in a few days he dies, babbling in Arabic to the mother for whom he has longed, and then the lady who has tried to be kind to him understands it all. He was such a little boy that he could not make his sorrow known; there was no mother-love to see into the lonely child's heart, and so he could only be naughty as his protest against a great injustice.

Does this story at all explain native risings in South Africa? Lacking an interpreter, they determine to make themselves heard in the only way within their power, and, like a caged bird, beat themselves to death in impotent endeavour.

It is apart from our purpose to discuss here the question of Chinese labour in Johannesburg from the Chinaman's point of view, but why was the Chinaman ever needed? 'The Cape Times,' July 12, 1899, helps us to an answer:—

Unfortunately, however, those who are willing to work frequently meet with treatment that makes them prefer to remain in their reserves and pick up a living as best they can. The Civil Com-

missioner of Vryburg, for instance, gives some information as to the outrageous treatment of natives proceeding from that district to the Transvaal. Labour touts readily promise the native wages of £2 per month all round and all found, but when the boys have walked the distance to Johannesburg they frequently find that the £2 has dwindled down to 10s. This has become generally known in Bechuanaland, and although many hundreds could find ready employment, none will offer to go, as they now distrust all promises made to them. The same tale comes from the district of Taungs, the Civil Commissioner reporting: "Such bad accounts have been brought back that I fear there is very little hope of the Johannesburg mines ever obtaining a large supply from Bechuanaland." Yet the Cape Government keep at Johannesburg a labour agent whose duty it is to see that the natives of this colony who go to Johannesburg to labour in the mines receive fair treatment.

We glance at the date of the paper with a sigh of relief, for it was written before the war. Now, in Johannesburg—what?

We may well pause before we answer the question, though possibly a pause would have come better in an earlier stage of Johannesburg's policy.

Let us repeat, while we are on this thorny subject, that we do not wish to treat the

question as a matter of party politics; yet it may well be asked, "Why was it not found necessary to introduce Chinese labour in the Kimberley mines?"

One who knew Johannesburg well wrote in 1903 with regard to a native Christian in the mines :—

It is awfully sad, and yet it is by no means the worst or the only tragedy which takes place on these thirty square miles of mines, fairly closely packed together. What are men in England doing that they can let thousands of their fellow-Christians die and be thrown into a hole, buried little better than a dog—die without a Christian word of advice for months perhaps, die amid all the heathen vices, plus all the acquired vices of white men, die neglected in body and soul?

There are indications that the yield of gold is not what it was, and we quote the following from Sir William Butler's article in 'The Tribune' of June 18, 1906 :—

Until about a year and a half ago this underground rock-boring business was carried on along the Witwatersrand by the black men of South Africa. In 1899, immediately before the war, when the "industry," as it is called, was at its highest pitch



of development, some 90,000 black men sufficed to put forth enough banket rock to give a monthly yield of more than a million and a quarter sterling. In these first eight months of 1899, 91,000 blacks and about 12,000 whites made gold to a total of thirteen millions sterling, more or less. Turn we now to the year 1905. Here we find that 95,000 natives, about 35,000 Chinese, and some 15,000 whites produced practically the same yield.

The inference to be drawn from the disparity between the numbers at work and the return of gold produced in the two periods, goes far to establish the correctness of a statement made to me in conversation in July or early August 1899 by the late Mr Seymour—namely, that the reef on the Witwatersrand at certain depths was neither in yield of gold nor in working facilities what it had been. The reef is more difficult to work. The yield of the banket is poorer. There is more labour, less profit. It is not from lack of labour alone, as compared with the pre-war days, that the mines have suffered of late. It is that there must be more drilling with less result.

Let us now turn for a moment to the social and economic situation which the mines have created above ground at Johannesburg. Professions, trades, shops, hotels, banks, agencies, newspapers, offices of every kind, have sprung up on the top of the reef. One hundred thousand white people, of whom 80,000 are men, have to live above, while 150,000 blacks have to toil below. Of these 100,000 whites, the majority

have lived, up to the present time at least, what might be called "the sporting life." The cost of living was very high. The pound sterling in Johannesburg was not, and is not to-day, worth more than nine shillings in its purchasing capacity as compared with London. But money came easily if it went quickly. Everybody betted or gambled, or did both. The white miner who drew £30 or £40 a-month in wages spent perhaps half of it on himself or his family, and gambled on the Stock Exchange with the other half. He, like his masters, had his brokers. So long as things boomed, he made money and had a good time. He lived upon "booms" quite as much as on blanket-boring. He frequently became a microscopic magnate. He was no longer a miner in any of the old meanings of that term.

How will it all work out? He would be a far-seeing man who would answer that question, but here is a forecast of some interest when we remember the source from which it comes. 'The Jewish Chronicle' of Johannesburg, in a leading article, recently wrote as follows:—

"The whole social fabric which surrounds us is changing under our very eyes. We can at once characterise most of the cities of the British Empire as English and Christian. Not so Johannesburg. He who should proceed on the assumption that it was English and Christian would soon find himself confronted with some very puzzling situations. He would soon discover that one, and perhaps the indispensable, factor in the economic

life of the town is an element which is neither English nor Christian, and can hardly by any conceivable means become either Anglicised or Christianised. He would find if his own or any other nationality were taken away the town would still go on, but that if the Chinese went the town would collapse. . . . Hence we conclude that Johannesburg must in the near future become practically a Chinese town—a town in which Chinese will be the most important language, and where the dominant religion corresponds. The old *régime* was the share market—i.e., drawing money from the European investor to the satisfaction of everybody concerned. This must cease: . . . they (the men of the old *régime*) will now all be glad if they can get out with a whole skin." And then in the tag comes the best bit: "The Jew is to survive the exodus of all his compeers, because he will be able to adapt himself to the changed order of things."

No one can complain of the frankness with which this article is written. It may be brutal, but it has the merit of plain speaking. There is no endeavour to prove that the Chinaman will better the position of the white man on the Rand; no attempt to show that the civilisation of Europe will erase that of Asia in Johannesburg.

To many at home this Jewish view of Johannesburg will come with a shock of surprise, yet those who have never been in

South Africa cannot disprove it, and it must be realised that no ready-made theories and axioms work out correctly in that country of strange, contradictions, where all rivers do not run into the sea.

But it has been well said, "There are things more precious than gold, and amongst them is the reputation of the British race both at home and beyond the seas."

## CHAPTER IX.

### SIDE-LIGHTS.

IN looking through official records of South Africa, there are odds and ends of evidence which throw much light on what has taken place, and which might have formed the basis of a policy that would have avoided unnecessary friction.

The example of Mr Rose Innes, Under-Secretary for Native Affairs in 1882, is worth giving. He was asked—

“Do you think that it is an important consideration that a magistrate should be very patient and forbearing?”

And his answer was—

“Certainly I do; and not only that, but to be particularly careful to explain the principles upon

which any judgment he may give are based. I might mention a fact which took place in King William's Town when I was there, in regard to the surrender of arms. The Peace Preservation Act had not then been proclaimed, but knowing its object I took upon myself to call a meeting of all the chiefs and principal headmen in the district. On the day appointed there was a very large muster of between three and four hundred people, and I was obliged to address them from the steps of the court-house.

"I then explained to them that, as yet, the law requiring them to surrender their arms was not in force in the district of King William's Town. I told them the different provisions of the law, and the circumstances which had necessitated that law being made; that they themselves had had personal experience of the evils of war, and reminded them that many of their friends had been killed, and that many of those present had suffered loss in cattle and stock. I said that Government considered that the time had now arrived when the means by which wars were carried on were to be withheld—their guns, &c. But, I said, 'The law to bring about this is not yet in operation in this district; still, I have told you what it is, and I am much mistaken in the character of the men here to-day whom I am addressing if they will not anticipate the action of the law, and say they will be prepared at any time the Government may wish it to comply with the provisions of the Act.'

"One man stepped forward (a son of Toise) and

said; 'I understand every word the magistrate has spoken. I shall be here with my people in two days' time with our guns.'

"I said, 'No, do not be in a hurry; take time and think over what I have said. Go back to your kraals and tell your people what I have told you, so that the matter is thoroughly understood; but in fourteen days' time I shall be here ready to receive the guns.'

"I took care not to place myself in the false position of making an order for the surrender of their arms, upon the issue of the proclamation which gave that authority, but explained to them how it was the proclamation had not yet been issued. Within fourteen days the people came in bringing their guns, which were registered as fast as they could be handed in. The people understood the nature and circumstances of the law, and were prepared to abide by it. I mention this to show how much careful explanation facilitates carrying out even the most obnoxious measures."

The Chairman then asked whether his first endeavour was to get the leading men and make them thoroughly acquainted with the case, and Mr Rose Innes said—

"Yes; and that is the way I think it should be done. You cannot ignore the chiefs, who are respected by their people from traditional causes.

You must work through the chiefs, and for a long time the operation of Government will have to include the headmen and chiefs, and through them it goes to the other people who are very greatly influenced by the effect you have made on the chiefs and headmen, and the influence you exercise over them. Then, again, I might mention an instance to show how the power of a chief may be sometimes counteracted. Immediately after the outbreak of the Gaika rebellion, knowing that the sympathy among the Gaikas for the Gaelekas would be very great, and that every effort would be made by Sandilli and his people to induce all the Gaikas in the district and other natives in the colony to join them in the rebellion against the Government, I called a meeting of the same kind as I have just referred to, and told them that no doubt overtures would be made to them by these people of Sandilli's and his councillors to join them, and that it would be a great pity if they did anything of the kind. I could not say, 'You who are for the rebels, stand on this side, and you who are for the Government, stand on that'; but I proposed that every man who desired to be on the side of the Government should express his intention of loyalty by obtaining a certificate or rather ticket. The form was provided, and it was issued and granted to the natives, who in very large numbers made application for these tickets. The consequence was that when the overtures came from Sandilli they said, 'We have already gone to Government'; and the effect in checking the spread of the rebellion



was very marked, although I do not mean to say that every man who had a ticket remained loyal; but still the issuing of these tickets had a very restraining influence, and the chief's authority was to a considerable extent counteracted."

And yet the man who had this genius for managing natives was never made a governor in South Africa. Truly our mistakes of omission equal our mistakes of commission in that little-understood country.

The personality of one in authority affects a native in a manner that cannot be over-estimated. The Report of the Commission of 1881 stated that—

Anything in the nature of an abstract idea like "Government" is to the native next to, if not altogether, impossible; and he is apt to be altogether confounded by the frequent or sudden changes of Party Administration. The European may long for the bustle, the ceremonial, and the culture that are to be found at a civilised seat of government. But the Kafir seeks his chief with very different aims and objects. Tribal fathers approach the chief to talk with him on their grievances, personal or tribal, or to feast with him on appropriate occasions; the tribal youth visit him to offer their services to him in return for cattle; while all have freedom of access to him

whom they regard as at once their father and leader, the source of honour and the dispenser of justice.

But there is much in this old volume that is not sufficiently remembered, and some words of Mr Ayliff are worth laying to heart:—

“Let a native once understand the full import of the written words conveying to him his own land; let him know that the magistrate is ready to protect him in his rights; let him appreciate that it is something to lose in case of disloyalty, and you have a guarantee for his fidelity such as no other assurance can give.”

Without doubt, questions concerning land are of supreme importance, and in the recent report we read that—

The Commission is of opinion and recommends—

(1) That the time has arrived when the lands dedicated and set apart, or to be dedicated and set apart, as locations, reserves, or otherwise, should be defined, delimited, and reserved for the natives by legislative enactment.

(2) That this should be done with a view to finality in the provision of land for the native population, and that thereafter no more land should be reserved for native occupation.

(3) The creation, subject to adequate control, of native locations for residential purposes, near labour centres or elsewhere, on proof that they are needed.

(4) That the right of occupation of the lands, so defined and set apart, shall be subject to a condition of forfeiture in case of rebellion.

Indirectly, the evidence shows that a greater security in land-tenure would be beneficial to the labour market, and the opinion of Rev. G. H. Hulett in Natal is worth quoting. He was asked—

Why would they go out to labour more if they had a holding of their own than they do, having none, now?—I find a native dearly loves to have a piece of land, and, as I have said before, if he knew that he had his own piece of land there would be a sense of security: he has every incentive to improve that property and feel safe, and I think it would conduce to a very great extent to his going into the labour market to earn money—for instance, to put up a proper house. I have spoken to natives over and over again, and the reply you will get from them is simply this, “What is the good of my putting up a square house?” as they call it. “I may quarrel with my chief any day, and the result will be that I am informed against as being disobedient, or something of that kind. I am never

certain of my rights, and if you will only give me some certainty, then you can talk to me about improving myself and improving my holding." I have taken the trouble to question natives throughout this country on this question, and I have held this view for a long time, and given expression to it in the public press for the last four or five years. And that, in my opinion, is the view that the native will express if you get him alone.

Now, when we get on the subject of labour, we feel that we touch a burning question, for we remember all the excellent reasons that were given for the introduction of Chinese labour, and how we were told that the natives were incorrigibly lazy. Sir H. Hulett, formerly Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal, apparently holds a different opinion, and it is instructive to compare his evidence with the columns of a newspaper.

Do you think they are becoming more and more an industrial class, and less a class of small agriculturists?—Yes; the men themselves work more, they are more industrious, and they acquire a liking, perhaps, for town life, the excitement and that sort of thing, when they go away periodically to work. My impression is this, that the natives of this Colony give an adequate amount of their

services, and as much as we can fairly expect them to give, to the labour market of the country. They are not able to give that supply to the labour market that they would be able to give if they were living more amongst the Europeans, because there are a certain number of people, people who are heads of families living in the locations, who cannot go and give their labour; but on the farms many of that class—the “kehla” class—will work for the owners. This is rather desultory, but I may say that I have in my employ Kafirs that were boys with me forty years ago: they are working to-day, and they have worked year in and out ever since. But then you see they have grown up with me: they have their kraals on the place, and they have their children there. Their children are not working with us, but the children either go to Johannesburg or to Durban. These men continue to work on the estate.

Is Christianity getting any hold of the natives? —I think it is, and very much so all over the colonies amongst the kraal Kafirs. I think since the mission-station system—that is, of having large stations—has been discountenanced, and native missionaries have been going and living amongst the people, that there is a very large ferment of Christianity throughout the whole of the native population. I must tell you that I am in favour of Christianising the natives. I am in favour of doing all I can to elevate these people in that way, but I think it is a work that will be gradual and by itself. On our estates we have three or four

little native churches which have not been founded by European missionaries, but have been brought about by men who have gone to the towns and received Christian teaching there, who have come and started little meetings amongst themselves and amongst their people. I know that, because we have people on our estates who have done this. The old fathers come back as Christians after they have been away working, and have done in many cases good work; and I take it that what I see under my own eyes as being carried on within a radius of five or six miles, is likewise being carried on in other parts of the country as well. These people have their own meetings. I know of one case where an old woman of forty years of age came up from a mission-station, and she began teaching and preaching by herself amongst the natives, and now there is a little church there, which has been taken under the supervision of a religious organisation: but she was the founder of a church of some twenty or thirty Christian people.

And what effect do you think Christianity has on their character?—Sometimes we expect too much from Christian natives—far more than we expect from Europeans. I look upon these people as a people who are emerging from darkness and from a state of barbarism. They have not what I call the “unadulterated truth” given to them, especially when they look at the lives of the dissolute in the towns of Durban, and big places like Johannesburg. It requires—and I think it will require—consider-

able time before they come to a full responsibility in this matter. But, unquestionably, it is for good, and that influence has worked destruction to native ideas and native thought and native feelings amongst the masses. It is breaking down their superstition more or less.

Then there is another element to be reckoned with that has its influence on native life, and it is but the natural result of teaching men to read and write, and that is the native press. That natives in South Africa have a marvellous manner of spreading news with a speed which puzzles Europeans there is no doubt. This secret system was largely used in the late war, and the very ground seems to hold properties known only to those who live out of doors, and whose faculties have never been dulled by the glare and noise of town life. Do they whisper to the earth and the whisper is heard miles away, or have the natives guessed the truth concerning currents of sound which we are beginning to discover for ourselves? We cannot tell, and they will never enlighten us; but it is certain that they have a means of im-

parting news from one end of the country to another in a way unknown to us.

But apart from this they have their native press, and England, with her hundreds of newspapers, fears vaguely that it is a danger-signal; yet the Commission takes a broader view, and is in no measure dismayed. It says:—

The native press has on the whole proved itself to be fairly accurate in tracing the course of passing events, and useful in extending the range of native information. It has not, however, arrived at maturity, and while at times it throws interesting light on the present phase of educated native thought, it is not as yet a faithful reflex of the opinions of the more staid and experienced men, who are in closer touch with the masses. The mere fact of its existence is a proof of rapid educational advancement. It cannot be said that nothing but good has accrued from it, but an infant press could not be expected to be wholly free from mistakes and indiscretions. Although the organs claiming to express opinion may not have been infallible, freedom of thought and speech within lawful limits is not lightly to be assailed. A minority in the Commission favoured the enactment of a law to punish persons responsible for publications in the native language creating distrust and animosity between the races, or likely



to produce conflict between them ; but after careful consideration the motion was negatived.

The following resolution was passed :—

This Commission considers that the native press is a result of the educational advancement of the natives, developing without restriction in the liberty of thought and speech permitted them under the British flag ; that the native is naturally more ready to accept without reserve information conveyed through channels which he regards as peculiarly his own ; and, seeing that the native press has proved on the whole a fairly accurate chronicle of passing events, the result has been a wider dissemination of contemporary knowledge not only amongst those who read, but, through them, among the illiterate masses ; that the press is at the same time valuable as an index to a certain aspect of native thought, though not as yet a faithful guide to native opinion as a whole, much of what appears being immaturely advanced, while the solid good sense of the more experienced but less lettered men seldom if ever finds expression in print ; that while open criticism of a powerful and despotic chief was rarely practised by the natives in the past, a free press, more or less in touch with European ideas, could not be expected to maintain the same attitude towards our Government, and that the change need not be regarded as a symptom of disloyal tendencies, but rather as a result of a rapid

assimilation of European methods before their objects are fully understood, or their privileges sufficiently appreciated to prevent occasional misuse by the unripe judgment of would-be political writers.

The composition of native writers has often dryness that suggests humour, but in nine cases out of ten it is probably not intentional. Some years ago a pupil-teacher was writing an essay on *Patience*, and after many platitudes concerning the virtue, he concluded: "The greatest living example we have of patience is the Prince of Wales, for he has not yet killed his mother in order that he may come to the throne." Thus we see that if a great author should arise among the natives of South Africa there would be some chance of his treating subjects from an original point of view, which is almost more than we can hope for in England at the present time.

That a native can tell a story simply and to the point will be seen in the following narrative, given in 1883, the facts of which are generally known in the neighbourhood,

though the details vary, some saying that a Scotch vessel was wrecked and the only survivor was a baby-girl, who grew up among the Kafirs. White Kafirs to this day confirm the truth of the story.

Xelo, Christian headman, made the following statement regarding the descendants of Europeans supposed to have been wrecked on the coast of Kaffraria:—

“Before I was born an English lady came to this part of Africa. The ship was wrecked, and she arrived in a small boat, which was brought into the mouth of the Untata. The Kafirs took her and made her the great wife of the chief Samgo, by whom she had two sons and several daughters. The eldest son was called Mycetana, and the second Umdepa. The daughters, however, died many years ago. The son of Mycetana was Niki, and Niki's eldest son was Dalasile, who is chief of the Ama Tshomania tribe, now residing at Umpako in Tembuland. This lady's children were yellow in colour, having long hair and blue eyes. The second son, Umdepa, had a son named Majibana, whose eldest son was called Ncani, and who died without male issue. Ncani's sister married John King. Another son of Umdepa was named Cawo, and his eldest son Jantje is still living, and his daughter Nosepesi is married to Gangelizwe chief of the Tembus. When Umdepa was a very old man,

nearly a hundred years of age, he married a young wife, by whom he had a daughter named Nozolo, who is married to Silas Pantshwa, here present. I knew Umdepa well, having been with him at the Morley School, in the early war-time, during Hintza's chieftainship. Umdepa then told me that there was a great meeting at his father's place, when the woman with the white face first came, and much wonder and surprise was felt. The people asked her where she came from, and she pointed with her finger towards the sea, signifying that she came from a country in that direction. She could not speak Kafir, and she wore European clothing. The people slaughtered a beast, and with its skin made the white lady a kaross. She was made the first wife of the chief. She said that her name was Bess. They taught her Kafir, which she learned to speak well afterwards. Several slaves were with her in the boat,—black people with long hair. I myself married a girl descended from one of these slaves, and I had three children. She did not like me, and I afterwards married another girl of my own nation. Umdepa said that the country these people came from was a cold place. Umdepa himself was a nice gentleman. He had a long nose, blue eyes, a yellow complexion, and long hair. He was a very old man when he died, nearly one hundred years of age, and we buried him. He was a very good gentleman, and much liked by the white people. Umdepa had no ornament or anything belonging to his mother, as, according to Kafir custom, all effects belonging to

persons dying are destroyed. I never heard Umdepa say where his mother was buried, and I have never heard of any other white woman here. The great-grandchildren and female descendants of Umdepa are much sought after at the present time by chiefs as wives, because these women are regarded as being wise and friendly to the white people. There are many descendants of the slaves: the women have long black hair, not soft, and black faces. The people found the lady at the mouth of the river, on dry land: no white man had come in the small boat with her. The chief Samgo heard of her arrival through some of his people living on the coast, who brought him word that a white face had come out of the water. It was the first white person that these Kafirs had ever seen. She was, as I have said, brought to the great place and given to the chief. Umdepa's daughter, who married Silas Pantshwa, is still living, but she never saw her mother, only her father.

Poor white-faced English lady, cast ashore in that wild land where she could not make herself understood, and given to the chief for wife, as the highest honour the tribe could bestow on the fair stranger! They were good to her in their own way, and none can now say who she was, or what English family mourned her loss.

You may question the natives to-day in various parts of the country, and traditions still linger of the chief's wife "Bess," the first white person seen on those shores. We prefer the version of the story which we heard in the country, of the baby-girl who grew up among her kindly protectors, and who would not leave them when, years after, some of her fellow-countrymen came in search of her.

## CHAPTER X.

### PUZZLES IN WHITE.

THERE is an old fallacy, told to children, and believed by them in the credulous days when nothing is impossible, that if you mix every colour together on a palette the result is white. We believed it years ago, and consequently we never tried it; a more sceptical age does not believe it, and therefore it is still untried.

Can we make South Africa the palette and still try the experiment? or would it not be more practical to see if some of the white problems in that country are capable of solution? For, after all, there are some questions out there in a land we call our own which are far from satisfactory from a white point of view.

The life of a country finds its centre in the homes of the people, and there is much connected with home-life in South Africa that needs amendment.

When a man goes into the colonies, the ideal thing for him is to make a home and a fortune, and then to come or send to England for his future wife; but in reality that is only possible for the upper middle classes. In a lower class of society men always marry a girl in the immediate neighbourhood, and what is the case in England will equally be the case everywhere. But girls of that rank are not to be found in South Africa, as there is no employment for them beyond the limited number employed in shops.

It is true that in England Emigration Societies exist with the laudable object of flooding South Africa with English domestic servants, but those who know the country can only wonder how the matter is to be worked, for in nine houses out of ten if a white servant were to go in, one of the family would have to move out. The native servants who do the work of the house come at sun-



rise, and go at sunset to their own\* location. Even if a white servant could be lodged in the house, the difficulty would still remain—where she could spend her leisure time, and with whom she would associate: for if she sat in the kitchen she would find it, in country places, a happy *rendezvous* for the Kafirs in the neighbourhood, and presumably her mistress would not wish her to sit in the drawing-room.

Like most things in South Africa, the theory is extremely simple, and the practice presents every possible obstacle.

Of course a white servant would very soon marry, but she must be somewhere till she is married. There are no centres of industry in the country at which women are employed. "What about laundries?" some one may ask, and a resident in South Africa will echo his question scornfully, for the Malays who undertake to wash clothes keep them to wear on high days and holidays before returning them. We do not mean that there are no steam laundries in South Africa, for Johannesburg and Cape Town would disprove this

statement, but they are the exception rather than the rule.

It is difficult to see why steam laundries should not be started in every town in South Africa with competent Englishwomen at the head of every department. It would require capital to start the scheme, but why should no industrial scheme prosper in South Africa?

Then, again, seeing the abundance of fruit grown in the Whittlesea district in January and February, the ordinary observer is surprised that jam and tinned fruit is imported from America. Has no one ever thought of establishing a jam factory, or bottling the thousands of choice fruits that rot on the ground every year? It would be a pleasant thing to turn attention away from the glitter of gold and diamond mines to the garden district, where, according to a subtle law hidden in Eden, happiness and well-being really lie, and to rear a fruit-factory in the valley amid the terra-cotta mountains, where English girls should work with congenial surroundings and in magnificent air. Jam would not be the only thing they would

make, and possibly some of the South African problems would be solved when the country had centres for women as well as men.

Only here again, the spirit of the Pass Law should come in, for these girls will in many cases be the mothers of the next generation, and it is of supreme importance what kind of men the next generation shall be. The natural conditions of life must exist if South Africa is ever to be really a colony for Englishmen; and there must be a society where men and women can meet on an equality.

Years ago it was said of Besant that he proposed to reform East London by dancing, and we are equally laying ourselves open to the charge of claiming to purify South Africa by washing and making jam; but perhaps in each case there is an underlying truth too easily overlooked. Dancing was to bring happiness to a joyless people, and as the old classic said, "Joy is a path leading to a greater perfection"; and in the other example, though it is true that girls cannot be taken out in shiploads with the avowed

object of being married without losing their self-respect, still it is quite permissible to found centres of women's work, and do what is really-needed, and at the same time to know that a benefit is being conferred on men who in South Africa have too little feminine society. In reality a wife is more necessary to a man at the Cape than in England, for if he has no one to keep his house he must live at an hotel, as lodgings no not exist.

It cannot be denied that the man who is of no service to South Africa is the man who takes what he can from her mines and comes back to live in England. His voice concerning the internal government of the colony is not worth listening to, for he will never share in the measures which he recommends.

This is a short chapter, and its subject will soon be forgotten in the interest of what succeeds it; but it may be that if its suggestions bore fruit, the results would be more far-reaching than the reader might imagine, and the effects would touch not only the white race but the black.

## CHAPTER XI.

### NATAL.

WHATEVER causes may have contributed to it, there is no doubt that the native disturbances in Natal during the past year have assumed proportions which cannot be overlooked; and while every one possesses a knowledge that the country is in an unsettled state, comparatively few persons could give a clear statement of how it all arose.

Alfred Mangena, a Zulu living in London, who has qualified at the English Bar, in the spring of 1906 presented a petition to the House of Commons in the following form :—

TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS OF THE  
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND  
IRELAND IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

The humble Petition of Alfred Mangena, a member  
of the Zulu race, presently residing in Eng-  
land, and a law student of Lincoln's Inn,

*Sheweth—*

1. That the native tribes now living in the Colony of Natal have been charged persistently during the last two or three years, in the press both of South Africa and of this country, with harbouring treasonable designs against British rule, and with the intention of seeking an opportunity of attacking the persons and property of their white fellow-subjects.

2. That the assurances on the part of the Natal Government, founded upon the reports of the various magistrates and other officials responsible for maintaining order among the said native tribes and their fellow-subjects (all of which reports up to the 8th of February last, as well as the opinions expressed by experienced colonists, affirm the groundlessness of all rumours of "native unrest" in the Colony), have failed to check the aforesaid public allegations and insinuations against the loyalty of the said tribes.

3. That on the contrary the efforts of nearly all writers in this country have been directed towards an insistance upon the danger to which a minority

of whites must be exposed in South Africa at the hands of a horde of savages, the position in Natal being described as that of 100,000 colonists, of European race, exposed to the possible hostility of nine times as many blacks.

4. That these publications have been perused with keen interest and indignation by the educated portion of the native population of Natal, and through this means, and the talk of colonists, the native tribes generally have been made aware of the injurious suspicions apparently entertained about them by the white community as a whole, both at home and abroad, notwithstanding the testimony borne by the records of the Natal Native Affairs Office to the loyal behaviour of the said tribes throughout the whole history of the Colony.

5. That the debates in the Natal Legislative Assembly during its last session show conclusively that the Poll-Tax Bill of 1905 was passed into law at the last moment in the teeth of almost universal condemnation by members on both sides of the House of a measure of this nature, and merely because, as one of their supporters expressed it, "the Government had got into a [financial] dilemma, and the House had to help them out of it."

6. That the Minister for Native Affairs is reported to have argued in the said Legislative Assembly that such a tax "was justified, since for the last twenty years the inhabitants of the Colony had been asking for increased hut-tax in order that there might be a greater supply of native labour."

7. That, on the other hand, an ex-Minister of

great experience is reported to have urged that one of the most serious objections to such legislation as that which the Poll-Tax Bill would inaugurate, was that it tended to break down the chain of responsibility under the tribal system, by means of which the good record of the Colony's native administration, during the sixty years of its existence, had always been maintained.

8. That it was an inevitable result of the passing of such a measure under such circumstances that "unrest" should be produced in the minds of many persons, both white and black, amongst those who were thereby made liable to pay the tax.

9. That it was also inevitable that of these persons a certain number of young natives, some of whom no doubt had made themselves familiar with the arguments used in the press and Legislature, should have been driven to protest against the tax according to the precedent afforded by "passive resisters" in this country.

10. That the lamentable affray with the police which took place at Byrnetown on the 8th February last may reasonably be regarded as having been, in its initial stage, an example of such a protest.

11. That according to a report which was given to a Natal newspaper by one of the police officers present at the affray, the natives, upon being surrounded, and upon the sub-inspector of police going in among them, said, "You have come for our money. You can shoot us. We will not pay this money."

12. That without venturing, with imperfect in-



formation, to assess the degree of the crime to the commission of which these natives eventually were led, your petitioner submits that an assemblage such as that which invited the attention of the police at Byrnetown was, *prima facie*, such as might take place, under the circumstances above recited, without lending any support whatever to the allegations regarding "native unrest," in the sense of disaffection to British rule, which are referred to above in paragraphs 1-4.

13. That the view submitted in the last paragraph was at the time of the occurrence in question that of the Natal Government and the local press, and is still maintained by persons of position and experience in the Colony.

14. That the declaration of martial law which followed the said affray, and the military operations which have since been carried out against several tribes in the Colony, while designed to reassure the panic-stricken whites, and salutarily to impress the minds of the natives in deference to the outcry which represented them as seething with rebellious intentions, in point of fact produced, in those native minds, ever-increasing perplexity and dismay.

15. That the quiet and peaceable behaviour of the native population generally since the 9th of February last, in the presence of military movements attended in various places by destruction of life and property, by imprisonments, and by a suspension of the ordinary processes of administering laws, raises a very strong presumption, in addition to those already adverted to above, against the

existence of any substantial grounds for imputing to the native tribes tendency to insurrection, or disposition to attack the whites and their property. For it must be borne in mind that, except in the case of Bambata, the troops employed by the Colony have encountered no sort of resistance, and that no attack or reprisal has been made by the natives in any part of the Colony upon person or property, although much of the latter, in consequence of the panic-stricken behaviour of its owners, has been left at various times entirely unprotected.

16. That Bambata, whose action constitutes the first and only overt act of resistance to the Government since the declaration of martial law on the 9th February last, did not desert his post as chief until after military proceedings had taken place, for some weeks, of a terror-inspiring character, these including the bombardment of Gobizembe's kraal, the confiscation of his property, his imprisonment and that of his son, all of which punishments he had brought upon himself, not by any overt act of insurrection, but by making default in the production of the full number of "passive resisters" whom he had been ordered by the military to arrest from among the members of his tribe. It is reasonable, therefore, your petitioner submits, to conclude that Bambata's flight from the force detailed to arrest him was the act of a desperate man, conscious that he was in the bad books of the Government for minor offences in the past, and expectant of even a worse fate than that of the venerable Gobizembe.

17. That Bambata, by flying under such circumstances, cut himself off from all hope, and that his subsequent conduct has been that of an outlaw resolved to defend his life and liberty. It does not appear that he has taken any life except in conflict with pursuing troops, or has attacked any homesteads except for the purpose of obtaining firearms.

18. That it is of vital consequence to the well-being of the 900,000 natives who inhabit Natal, as well as to the welfare of the Colony generally, that the precise foundation of fact (if any) which underlies the aforesaid allegations respecting native unrest and general seditious tendencies among the native tribes, and, in fine, all evidence that can be adduced to justify the said declaration of martial law, including, in particular, the evidence in support of the statement of the Natal Government, as given in the language of the telegram read to the House of Lords on the 31st March last by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that the natives were "for the most part adopting a waiting attitude," should be the subject of an impartial investigation conducted in Natal on the part of the Imperial Government.

19. That in the events which have taken place, and according to the principles of British law, evidence obtained or furnished at the instance and on behalf of the present Natal Ministry, in justification of their own action in respect of the declaration and continuance over many weeks of martial law, with grievous results to many of the

native inhabitants of the Colony, must, notwithstanding the most honourable intentions on the part of that Government, be regarded as evidence of an *ex parte* character.

20. That an indispensable condition of such an inquiry would be that the natives should be afforded unrestricted opportunities of explaining any suspicious circumstances that might be set up in support of the theory of sedition. It has been made abundantly clear to them that the authorities desire to avail themselves of all such circumstances; and the relations in which the chiefs, indunas, and people stand under native law to those authorities, even without the special fear and pressure supplied by summary proceedings, and exemplary punishments inflicted upon many admittedly innocent persons, as well as upon those accused under martial law, could hardly fail to engender not a little testimony of a very questionable character, as, for example, was the case in the well-known instance of Langalibalele and the Government messenger Mahoiza.

21. That it is a fallacious and mischievous doctrine to maintain that the prestige of the supreme chief will be injured by the natives being made aware that the Sovereign, whose troops are ready to crush them if need be, is himself also prepared to intervene and to hear impartially the case of subjects who are without representation in the Colonial Legislature. As a matter of fact, it is nowadays simply impossible to keep the broad truth of these matters back from

the intelligent native. He has sufficient elementary knowledge of the constitutional position, so freely canvassed in the local newspapers, to understand his obligations to those who represent his Majesty the King. He is aware, too, that among the Natal officials, both in and out of office, there are those who sympathise with the alarm and bewilderment which has been caused among the tribes by the extra-judicial and militant proceedings initiated by the present Ministry since the 8th February, and who deplore the policy which interpreted the crime at Byrnetown as an overt act in a widespread conspiracy demanding the dread expedient of martial law for its suppression.

22. That a decision by the Imperial Government to cause an independent investigation to be made in Natal, of the nature of that which your petitioner ventures to advocate, would be regarded with profound satisfaction by many persons of position and special experience in the Colony who have an intimate knowledge of the natives, and who believe that the "opening of the great King's ears" to both sides would serve effectually to terminate the condition of unrest and apprehension now aroused in the native population of Natal, which condition, unless it be allayed, will be likely to develop elements of great peril to the tribes themselves. For these constitute a very vulnerable community possessing no representation in the Colonial Assembly, and no means of combating the enormous influence that is now directed against them by the

greater part of the British press, which, by its continual appeals to the conception of a Black Peril, its unscrupulous attacks upon the characters and motives of individual chiefs, and its demand for "strong measures" against peaceful tribes, appears to desire that the people of your petitioner's race shall be deprived of all the safeguards against oppression which are provided by the King's laws, and of which Englishmen make so proud a boast.

23. Your petitioner therefore prays that your honourable House may be pleased to pass a Resolution affirming the desirability of an investigation to be conducted on behalf of the Imperial Government for the determination of the issues of fact which are raised by the aforesaid allegations of seditious intention on the part of the native inhabitants of the Colony of Natal.

And your petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

ALFRED MANGENA.

He stated clearly in conversation that one cause of disaffection was that though the poll-tax, which was due in January 1906, was not to be enforced till May 31, yet on February 8 a police force was sent to summon some natives who had not paid the toll, a skirmish occurred in which there were killed on each side, and Natal was put under

martial law, though the civil courts were not closed. Now as the impression of what takes place in a distant country is gathered chiefly from the newspapers, where much of actual fact is mixed up with the opinions of the writer, we shall gain a clearer knowledge of what actually happened if we take the official despatches in order. The first is a letter from the Governor to the Secretary of State.

The GOVERNOR to the SECRETARY OF STATE.

KING'S HOUSE, DURBAN, NATAL,  
*January 5, 1906.*

MY LORD,—For some little time past rumours have been current of unrest and disaffection amongst the natives, due, it is said, to the imposition of the poll-tax, which became due for collection on 1st instant.

2. The name of Dinuzulu has been freely mentioned as promoting the unrest, and as putting himself at the head of a native army to invade Natal proper from Zululand.

3. When these rumours come to be investigated, no substantial foundation can be found for them. The enclosed telegram from the Minister for Native Affairs to the Magistrate, Greytown, exactly describes the situation. My Ministers, however, have thought

it advisable to issue to magistrates a circular (copy enclosed) deprecating the rumour-mongering, and assuring the population, both white and black, that there is no ground for alarm.

4. The present unrest has, I believe, been brought about—

(a) By nervous Europeans who view with alarm the withdrawal of Imperial troops from Natal;

(b) By the young men of the tribes who work in towns, do not pay hut-tax, and will, therefore, for the first time contribute to the revenue. Every year these young men get more out of the control of kraal heads, and they no doubt have indulged in much irresponsible talk.—I have, &c.,

HENRY MCCALLUM.

MINISTER FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS, PIETERMARITZBURG,  
to MAGISTRATE, GREYTOWN.

*Telegram.*

*December 28, 1905.*—With reference to a minute sent you yesterday, it may be well to inform you that reports of disaffection and discontent with regard to poll-tax have been received from many parts of the Colony; also reports about the killing of pigs, white fowls, white goats, and so forth, various reasons being given for these animals being killed. These reports have been sifted, with the



result that nothing of a concrete or tangible nature calculated to cause alarm has been reached. *Re* numerous references to Dinuzulu, I have received a letter from Mr Saunders assuring me of that chief's unwavering loyalty, and that he has stated he will do all in his power to ensure payment of the poll-tax.

PRINCIPAL UNDER SECRETARY to MAGISTRATE.

COLONIAL SECRETARY'S OFFICE,  
PIETERMARITZBURG, NATAL,  
*December 28, 1905.*

It has come to the knowledge of the Government that numerous disturbing reports concerning the loyalty of the natives of the Colony are being spread abroad by irresponsible persons, both Europeans and natives. These reports are most mischievous, causing unnecessary alarm among all classes of the community, and careful investigation has proved that no real ground for them exists.

You are, therefore, requested to reassure the people of your district, and to urge them to discountenance the spreading of all such reports.

While not anticipating any disturbance, Government is determined, should any trouble arise, to deal with it promptly.

C. BIRD,

*Principal Under Secretary.*

Then there is a brief interval, and the next telegram comes with startling suddenness.

The GOVERNOR to the SECRETARY OF STATE.

*February 9.* No. 1.—Regret to inform you that party of armed natives attacked European police at Byrnetown. One sub-inspector and one trooper reported to have been killed. Information received that other natives are arming and joining the disaffected. Have ordered right wing of Carbineers and one battery of Field Artillery to be mobilised for active service, and have authorised Commandant-General of Militia to issue requisitions under Section 2, Act 30, 1905.—McCALLUM.

Five hours later it is followed by a second despatch:—

The GOVERNOR to the SECRETARY OF STATE.

DURBAN, *February 9.* No. 2.—By advice of my Ministers I am putting Natal under martial law. I leave for Pietermaritzburg this evening.—McCALLUM.

But the next day apparently brings a change of opinion as to the state of affairs, and we read:—

The GOVERNOR to the SECRETARY OF STATE.

*February 10.* No. 8.—Latest intelligence is that outbreak is confined to small section of tribe,

the chief of which is loyal; no artillery has been sent, but the whole of Natal Carbineers and half of Border Mounted Rifles are being mobilised, and will arrive scene of action this day. Loss of sub-inspector and trooper confirmed.—McCALLUM.

The GOVERNOR to the SECRETARY OF STATE.

*February* 10. No. 9.—No further development disturbances this morning. Disaffected district reported to be quiet. Colonial force starts at once.—McCALLUM.

The GOVERNOR to the SECRETARY OF STATE.

*February* 10. No. 12.—General Officer Commanding Transvaal and Orange River Colony telegraphs that he is holding himself in readiness to assist with Imperial troops in case of necessity. Ministers consider that moral effect upon native community, which would be produced at the present time at the arrival of Imperial troops, would be incalculable, as it has been freely expressed by natives that the assistance of his Majesty's Government would never again be rendered to this Colony. We do not anticipate that the Imperial troops would be required for active service, but would be obliged, if a battalion could be spared, to come to Maritzburg with least possible delay.—McCALLUM.

The GOVERNOR to the SECRETARY OF STATE.

*February 11.* No. 1.—No further development. Many rumours afloat. Information obtained from reliable sources, including that of chief of tribe, shows that at present disturbances are Ethiopian.  
—McCALLUM.

The GOVERNOR to the SECRETARY OF STATE.

*February 13.* No. 1.—Alarming reports still prevalent in different quarters, but we can usually dismiss them. I sit in Council with responsible Ministers daily. No news from field force except capture seven prisoners, four of whom wounded. Disaffected in hiding in dense bush towards the Umkomanzi. Their chief, Umveli, has offered to dislodge them with 500 men, and offer accepted by Government.—McCALLUM.

Then comes a despatch from Lord Elgin which produces a concise account:—

The SECRETARY OF STATE to the GOVERNOR.

*February 14.* No. 1.—Please telegraph connected account of origin and progress of native disturbance for use at opening of Parliament if required.—ELGIN.

## The GOVERNOR to the SECRETARY OF STATE.

*February* 15. No. 1.—Referring to your telegram of 14th February, No. 1. Since termination of Boer war there has been change of attitude on the part of natives of Natal towards the white population. This is evidenced by the insolent behaviour of the younger men, who have in numerous instances openly informed their employers that they were going to kill the white men. Government has also reason to believe doctrines and seditious teachings of those connected with Ethiopian movement have had bad effect on certain sections of native community. There can be no doubt that removal of his Majesty's forces out of the Colony has weakened prestige of the Government, and, to use the expression of the natives, the opinion is freely expressed amongst them that "the King has quarrelled with the Natal Government and will no longer help them." During the last session of Parliament an Act was passed making every male over eighteen years of age in the Colony, including Europeans, liable to pay tax of £1. Native who pays (house) hut-tax is not, however, required to pay this poll-tax. Indentured Indians are also exempt. As the natives marry very young, number affected by poll-tax is comparatively small. Tax fell due on 1st January, and notice was given to different chiefs to begin paying after the 20th January. When the chiefs were summoned by the magistrates to assemble with their men to pay tax some

of them assumed defiant attitude. In some cases they appeared with their men armed with shields and sticks, and in one instance magistrate was shouted down and threatened.

Following is explanation of causes which led up to conflict between natives and Natal police: "Magistrate of Umgeni went out Wednesday, the 7th February, to collect poll-tax from the chief Umveli at Henley. While there chief informed him that some of his tribe from the Richmond district were on the hill near by armed with assegais. Magistrate sent up European trooper and two of the chief's brothers to find out if the statement was true, and they found that party of twenty-seven natives armed, as stated, had collected together and assumed very threatening attitude. Chief's brothers identified a great many of the men, and depositions were taken and warrants for arrest issued by magistrate. On the next day body of fourteen of the Natal European Police Force were sent out to effect arrest of certain of the natives concerned at Byrnetown, and on arrival two of the natives were arrested and handcuffed. An armed party of natives thereafter approached police and demanded release of prisoners, and conflict ensued between the police and the natives, with the result sub-inspector Hunt and a trooper were killed."

Trouble is for the present confined to locality where conflict with the police took place, and no other members of tribe have joined with disaffected natives, who are avowed adherents of the Ethiopian

movement. Policy of Government is to deal with this trouble promptly and effectually, as the spreading or not of the disturbance to other districts of Colony will depend on result of measures now taken.—McCALLUM.

Then follows the record of events :—

The GOVERNOR to the SECRETARY OF STATE.

*February* 16.—Bush still being searched for disaffected. Reports from Ixopo and Highflats cause uneasiness. Field Force now at Richmond, and will probably march through those districts to Port Shepstone.—McCALLUM.

The GOVERNOR to the SECRETARY OF STATE.

*February* 19.—MacKenzie started this morning from Richmond with mounted troops and two guns to traverse line *via* Josephine Bridge to Highflats thence to Ixopo and Bulwer. He has received instructions to restore order and confidence in districts traversed. Other districts quiet.—McCALLUM.

The GOVERNOR to the SECRETARY OF STATE.

*February* 21.—Rebels making sortie from bush attacked Umveli's men, five of whom reported to

be wounded. Rebels driven back with loss of three killed and eight captured, including Majongo, the leader. Police force and Natal Royal Regiment have surrounded bush.—MCCALLUM.

The next two messages evidently cross each other on the way:—

No. 15.

The SECRETARY OF STATE to the GOVERNOR.

[*Answered by No. 17.*]

*February* 23.—Question asked in Parliament as to whether two natives were recently court-martialled and shot in Natal, and, if so, what was the offence charged. Please telegraph facts.—ELGIN.

The GOVERNOR to the SECRETARY OF STATE.

*February* 23.—Ministers have decided to mobilise second field force to support civil authorities in eastern districts where tribes are taking up threatening attitude. It consists of Umvoti Mounted Rifles, Natal Mounted Rifles, one battery and two companies of Durban Light Infantry. In the event of outbreak column will be assisted by 2000 Zulus under European command and by force of Christian natives. No further news of MacKenzie's forces.—MCCALLUM.



The answer to No. 15 brings us to Mangena's point of inquiry, "Why, if the poll-tax was not to be enforced till May 31, were arrests made on February 9?" But the despatch from the Governor shows that the offence was that the natives were armed.

No. 17.

The GOVERNOR to the SECRETARY OF STATE.

*February 24.*—Your telegram, 23rd February. Ministers desire me to send you following reply:—

*Begins:* Question asked in Parliament should be answered in the affirmative. The two natives in question were tried by court-martial for assisting and taking part in the murder of an inspector and trooper of the Natal European Police Force whilst executing warrants of arrest against certain natives for being armed in breach of the law. *Ends.*

MCCALLUM.

The GOVERNOR to the SECRETARY OF STATE.

*February 27.*—Six more men belonging to rebel band captured. Only three are now at large. Situation in Ixope district clearer. Chief implicated has surrendered twelve men wanted by Government and has promised others. Exportation of horses out of the Colony has been prohibited.

I accompany their Royal Highnesses to Durban and return here immediately after their embarkation.—McCALLUM.

The GOVERNOR to the SECRETARY OF STATE.

*March 1.*—Little change in situation. Chief, name of Bambata, at Greytown defiant. He is to be arrested by a military force.—McCALLUM.

The GOVERNOR to the SECRETARY OF STATE.

*March 2.*—Chief implicated, Miskofeli by name, has surrendered fifteen more men. From evidence given one section of his tribe to be fined in cattle for illegally assembling in arms. Gobizembe at Mapumulo surrendered twenty offenders out of 300. Leuchars anticipates having to arrest remainder by military force. No further news from Greytown. Alarm rumours are diminishing.—McCALLUM.

Then we go back a little in the history of Natal and find a letter which explains affairs at greater length, as well as a letter from the Prime Minister, who evidently realised that no payment of the poll-tax could be enforced till May 31.

## The GOVERNOR to the SECRETARY OF STATE.

KING'S HOUSE, DURBAN, NATAL,  
*February 9, 1906.*

MY LORD,—In continuation of my despatch of the 5th January, I have the honour to report, for your information, that the unrest which has existed for some little time past amongst the natives appeared to be gradually coming to an end.

2. Since I wrote my despatch in question, rumours have continued to be current that Dinuzulu is really at the bottom of the agitation, and I received a communication from the High Commissioner forwarding a report of alleged intrigues between that chief and the Swazis. From all I can gather, however, I believe there is no truth whatever in the allegations which have been made. Dinuzulu has set the example of paying up the poll-tax on behalf of himself and his own personal chiefs before he is actually obliged to do so.

3. Mr Saunders, the Commissioner for Native Affairs in Zululand, is certain that the many rumours are rumours only. During the years I have been administering this Government he has invariably furnished correct information, and I see no reason to doubt that his opinion is again correct.

4. I enclose a copy of a private letter which I recently received from the Prime Minister, and also of a report by Mr Winter, the Minister for

Native Affairs. I also recently saw Mr Winter, and he was of opinion that whereas some six weeks ago it would have required very little to fan the unrest then existing into a flame, the excitement had practically subsided, although there are a few chiefs whom he has yet to see and explain the bearing of the Poll-Tax Act.

5. To give you an example of how rumours are wilfully manufactured, I enclose a copy of a report by the magistrate at Weenen dealing with the case of three natives who have been tried before him for contravening section 263 of the schedule to Law 19, 1891. These natives have been very properly punished for their mischievous and seditious behaviour.

6. I have this morning received a telegram from the Prime Minister informing me that an armed party of natives have attacked a body of fourteen European police at Byrnetown, and that a sub-inspector and a trooper are believed to have been killed. Other disaffected natives are said to be joining, and it has been considered essential, therefore, to mobilise one wing of the Natal Carbineers for active service and one battery of artillery; also to authorise the commandant to issue requisitions under section 2 of Act No. 30 of 1905.

7. I have informed the Prime Minister that if the outbreak spreads, I am prepared to put the districts concerned under martial law, and that I will return at once to Maritzburg so as to be in close touch with him.—I have, &c.,

HENRY MCCALLUM.

PRIME MINISTER to GOVERNOR.

VICTORIA CLUB, MARITZBURG,  
*January 30, 1906.*

DEAR SIR HENRY,—I got your letter this morning with enclosure from the High Commissioner. I will return the latter to-morrow, as it is now in the office.

I told Winter that you wanted to be kept fully informed as to native matters, and he will send you a full report to-morrow.

It would be useless to forward you many of the communications received about native unrest, as they are founded on nothing better than vague rumours.

Saunders scouts the idea of Dinuzulu sending messengers about the country, and it is remarkable that though we have heard plenty about Dinuzulu's messengers, none have yet been caught or traced to him. I think his name has been used by natives anxious to stir up mischief among the Natal natives. I do not credit the report that he is intriguing with the Swazis.

I think there is a good deal of wild talk going on among the young natives, and the chiefs in some instances are not doing so much as they might to put a stop to it.

We are handicapped in the collection of the poll-tax by the fact that though it is due we cannot take legal proceedings for non-payment till after 31st May.

I do not think we need fear any serious trouble,

NATAL

but, of course, there is always the risk that some demonstration like that at Mapumulo might lead to something worse and set fire to the grass.

The Mapumulo chief is to be here to-morrow to explain the attitude of his men towards the magistrate.—Yours sincerely,

CHARLES J. SMYTHE.

MINISTER FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS to GOVERNOR.

SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT,  
PIETERMARITZBURG, NATAL,  
*January 30, 1906.*

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—On my return to office this morning, the Prime Minister mentioned to me having received a letter from Your Excellency, in which you stated that you had not received any information from the Native Department for some time, and that you wished to be informed what was going on.

I understand from the Under-Secretary for Native Affairs that two batches of papers on the subject of the poll-tax had already been submitted to Your Excellency, and I regret that it has been necessary for Your Excellency to have to call attention to the absence of a report.

I am sending you papers, G.H. 1/1906, with a minute which explains the reason why no papers have reached Your Excellency.

As Your Excellency is aware, I have visited the Weenen, Umsinga, Kranszkop, Mapumulo, and Ixopo divisions in the Natal province, with the

object of interviewing the native chiefs in these divisions, some of whom had been reported as being disaffected in connection with the poll-tax.

The attitude assumed by some of the tribes was that of defiance of the law; others pleaded inability of their young men to find the money; others, again, urged the burden of hut-tax, dog licences, and high rents for the occupation of private lands and mission reserves. The position being, therefore, somewhat strained, I resolved to visit the districts in which the position seemed most strained.

Mr Samuelson, the Under-Secretary for Native Affairs, accompanied me throughout my tour in the Natal province.

I am pleased to report that, with one exception, namely, that of the chief, Gobizembe (who has been directed to appear at this office on the 1st February to explain the conduct of his tribe on the occasion of the magistrate's visit to their centre), the meetings held by me with the native chiefs in the various divisions named were of a most satisfactory nature.

In some divisions the tribes have not yet been called up to the centres appointed for the collection of the tax, so that it cannot be ascertained at present what attitude will be adopted.

I anticipate that the bad example which has already been set by some of the chiefs will be followed by others. It is my intention to deal with these cases in a firm manner as they arise.

This morning I had before me two chiefs and a

headman from the Lower Umzimkulu division, who had been summoned by my directions to appear at this office to explain the failure of the people under their charge to pay the tax at the time and place appointed by the magistrate of the division.

Their actual words to the magistrate were that they could not pay the tax demanded as the new law was too hard for them. This could be interpreted to mean either inability or refusal.

One of the chiefs, Jemusi, who presides over a small tribe, explained to me that he was about to call his people together to speak to them when he was summoned to attend at this office. He mentioned the fact that he had taken £1 out of his pocket and given it to his son with which to pay the poll-tax as an example to his people.

I warned these men against any resistance or opposition to the poll-tax, either on their own part or on the part of their people, or any failure to comply with the laws of the Government.

I told them I would give them fourteen days in which to go back to their tribes and have their young men liable to the poll-tax warned about their duty in connection with that tax, and to see that those young men paid their poll-tax as required by the law, and I told them that at the end of fourteen days I would expect a report from the magistrate of the division informing me of what they had individually done in connection with the payment of the poll-tax.

Last evening I returned from the Zululand province, having visited Eshowe, Melmoth, Mahla-



batini, Nongoma, and Hlabisa divisions. I found that the law was being cheerfully complied with in those divisions. I did not visit the Ingwavuma, Nkandhla, Nqutu, and Ubombo divisions, nor have I been advised as to the position there.

Disaffection appears to have existed in the Umlalazi and Lower Umfolozi divisions, through which the line of railway from Natal passes, and also in the Nkandhla division, which lies on the Natal border.

I was accompanied during my visit to the districts named by the Commissioner for Native Affairs for the Province of Zululand, and on the conclusion of my tour I requested him to personally visit the districts in which there seemed to be a disinclination to comply with the law, and to call the chiefs together and to speak to them on the subject.

The result of his action, in so far as the Umlalazi and Lower Umfolozi districts are concerned, appears in the telegrams which I have received this day, and which will be submitted to Your Excellency with other reports.

A possible explanation of the disaffection in these districts may be that the natives residing therein come into contact with the natives in the Natal province to a greater extent than those residing in the remoter districts of Zululand, and no doubt the tribes in the Nkandhla division are to some extent influenced by the tribes on this side of the Tugela.

Several magistrates in Zululand have received

up to the present time between £300 and £400 in poll-tax from the natives.

I may say that, during the whole time that I was in Zululand, the natives were most respectful, and in every case an ox was presented by the chiefs in honour of my visit.

I am sorry I was unable to see Dinuzulu, who was absent from his kraal in connection with the marriage of his sister to the chief Maboko, in the Ngotshe division. He had arranged to return in time to meet me, but was detained by bad weather. He was, however, represented by one of his head indunas, a most intelligent man, who expressed his regret at Dinuzulu's absence. I told him to inform Dinuzulu that I also regretted being unable to meet him.

The magistrates in the Zululand province have done their work most manfully, and I think the manner in which the majority of the natives have responded to the call for the tax is, in a great measure, due to their exertions.

There can be little doubt that the disaffection in the districts which I have named is due to the contaminating influence of town natives.

On Sunday next it is my intention to proceed to the Lower Umzimkulu division in company with Mr Samuelson.

In this division, in addition to the chiefs already named, certain other chiefs have stated that the members of their tribes cannot pay the tax. It is my intention to deal with these men in a similar manner to those already referred to.

The magistrate at Stanger is anxious that I should meet the chiefs in his division, and I intend to proceed to that place as soon as I have time to do so.

I very much regret that I am unable to see Your Excellency personally in this matter, as I could then explain matters in a very much more satisfactory way than it is possible to do in writing.—I have, &c.,

H. D. WINTER,  
*Minister for Native Affairs.*

His Excellency

SIR HENRY MCCALLUM, G.C.M.G., &c.

REPORT on the Case of *Rex vs. Makabakaba, Rex vs. Mdopa, and Rex vs. Frank Sikosana*, charged under Section 263<sup>1</sup> of the Schedule to Law 19, 1891.

UNDER SECRETARY, NATIVE AFFAIRS.—On assuming duty in this division on the 11th November last, I found there was considerable unrest amongst the natives which, in the interest of the division, if not of the Colony, it was necessary to get to the bottom of. Objection to the poll-tax was the ostensible cause of dissatisfaction; but the tangible result was noticeable in the demeanour of the natives, and by the carrying into effect of certain

<sup>1</sup> *Colonial Office Note*.—The following is the section referred to: "263. Whoever shall spread any false report of a nature calculated to cause disquiet or anxiety, or affecting the Government and its acts, shall be deemed guilty of an offence."

alleged orders of Dinuzulu that all pigs had to be destroyed, &c.

There was much difficulty in tracing these rumours to a definite source, and recourse was had to secret detectives; but it is satisfactory to report that, so far as I know, the only natives who were responsible in this division for the dissemination of these alleged orders are the three men who have now been convicted and punished.

The native Makabakaba is a resident of New Hanover division, and went to Johannesburg directly after the late war. He came down about five months ago, and visited a connection by marriage in Newcastle division, living under the chief Mkankanyeki. He appears to have stayed there for two or three months, and then left in company with one Mdopa. If his own statement to one of the witnesses is correct, these two men, with two others, were received by the chiefs in Newcastle, Dundee, and Klip River divisions under the rôle of messengers from Dinuzulu, and separated at the chief Bande's, two of them going into Umsinga division, and Makabakaba and Mdopa traversing this division. Both in the Impafana location and on private lands they visited the kraals along their route and obtained a credible hearing. They led the natives to believe that war would shortly be declared by Dinuzulu, and those who failed to carry out his instructions as to the killing of pigs and destruction of utensils of European manufacture, and a reversion in general to their primitive mode of living, would be swept

away by him. Reference was also made to a Basuto woman who had risen from the dead and was in communication with Dinuzulu. They alleged that 500 emissaries of Dinuzulu were canvassing South Africa.

It may be mentioned that Makabakaba is said to be an old cattle thief, and the present jailer here, who was at one time at New Hanover, recognised him as having been twice in jail there.

The third man, Frank Sikosana, is an educated native, and was brought up at the Emmaus mission-station in Bergville division. He has, however, been driven out of the church for offences against morality. He opened a store on the Stendal mission-station in this division in July last, but carried on business for a few months only, and was then ordered off by the missionary in charge for immoral conduct. He passed himself off as a native of Basutoland, and alleged that he and nine others had been despatched by the Paramount Chief of that territory to Dinuzulu, from whom they now bore instructions which were similar in effect to those circulated by the other two men. The investigation of this case engaged me for more than six weeks after Sikosana's arrest, as there was a determined attempt to shield him. This was, I think, chiefly due to fear of punishment in having given audience to this man, and in having carried out the instructions as to pig-killing, &c. I have been unable to find that any of these three men were at any time, directly or indirectly, in communication with Dinuzulu. As-

suming that there may be some foundation for supposing that he had cognisance of these matters, Makabakaba's residence for some months in Mkan-kanyeki's tribe may possibly account for the part played by him and Mdopa; as, so far as my recollection of Newcastle serves me, Mkankanyeki and Dinuzulu were on amicable terms, and exchanged courtesies on more than one occasion.

As regards Frank Sikosana, I am inclined to the opinion that he, having heard of or seen these supposed messengers, took upon himself a similar rôle.

The hearing of these cases was followed with interest by the chiefs and headmen of their representatives in this division with, I think, excellent results. It has been clearly shown that the three accused are impostors who have deceived the natives into believing that they came direct from Dinuzulu; and, as two of the chiefs remarked to me, the people now feel ashamed of the ready credence they gave to these men, and their compliance with the pig-killing and other instructions.

It is unnecessary for me to lay further stress on the evil the three accused have wrought,—an evil now, I trust, effectually checked. The threat of Dinuzulu's vengeance if his alleged orders were disregarded doubtless led many natives to destroy their pigs without entertaining disloyal intentions towards the Government. The rumours of unrest were only traced to the accused as the originators some time after they had left the division, and there had therefore been ample time for fer-

mentation before action could be taken to check them.

I sentenced each of the accused to six months' imprisonment with hard labour, and ordered them to receive a whipping of fifteen lashes each.

I now ask that steps be taken to have them permanently removed from their respective divisions. The gravity of their offence, in my opinion, merits banishment from the colony if this be possible.

C. G. JACKSON,

*Magistrate, Weenan Division.*

*February 1, 1906.*

The next official despatch carries us much farther in all that succeeded the "unexplained unrest" of the natives, and we see the effect of martial law.

The GOVERNOR to the SECRETARY OF STATE.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, PIETERMARITZBURG,  
NATAL, *February 16, 1906.*

MY LORD,—In continuation of my despatch of the 9th instant, paragraph 7, I have the honour to inform you that in reply I received a message from the Prime Minister to the effect that he considered it necessary that martial law should be immediately proclaimed throughout the Colony, looking at the threatening attitude of natives in districts other than that in which the outbreak had actually occurred. I therefore returned to

Maritzburg at an hour's notice in order to sign the proclamation before the troops actually started for the scene of disaffection.

2. Looking at the alarming reports which continued to come in from magistrates and others, Ministers considered it advisable to mobilise a stronger force than had been originally intended, and, in consequence, the whole of the Natal Carbineers, two sections of the Natal Field Artillery, a company of the Natal Royal Regiment, and half the Border Mounted Rifles received the necessary orders, the whole force being put under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan McKenzie, C.B., C.M.G., V.D., of the Natal Carbineers. The men fell in with despatch, but a move could not be made for some hours in consequence of certain equipment not being ready.

3. On Saturday the 10th instant I received a wire from the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, South Africa, stating that he held in readiness a battalion at Pretoria, and the Standerton Mobile Column. This telegram I at once laid before Ministers. Conceiving that any movement of Imperial troops to Natal would have to receive the sanction of the Secretary of State for War, I sent you my telegram, No. 12, of the 10th instant, as follows :—

“General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, South Africa, telegraphs that he is holding Imperial troops in readiness to assist in case of necessity. Ministers consider that moral effect upon native community, which would be pro-



duced at the present time at the arrival of Imperial troops, would be incalculable, as it has been freely expressed by natives that the assistance of his Majesty's Government would never again be rendered to this Colony. We do not anticipate that the Imperial troops would be required for active service, but would be obliged if a battalion could be spared to come to Maritzburg, least possible delay."

4. In reply you informed me that the Secretary of State for War and yourself considered that the whole matter should be left at the discretion of the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, South Africa, who, before the arrival of your telegram, had informed me that he had put a battalion of the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders in orders to proceed to Maritzburg forthwith. The battalion arrived on the evening of the 13th instant, and their presence in the town has had a very reassuring effect.

5. Unfounded and alarming rumours were so rife that Ministers considered it advisable, in the cause of public peace and good order, to establish a censorship over all telegrams. On the 12th instant you informed me that you thought that this step might give rise to international suspicion and alarm, and asked me to use my influence with Ministers to have the censorship abolished immediately. In consequence I had a long discussion with them, and ultimately persuaded them to conform to your wishes, though I must say they did so reluctantly,

as they were most anxious that accounts of the outbreak should not be exaggerated,—and this was being done not only in local but in over-sea telegrams.

6. I should here mention that it was decided, for the same reason, that the force in the field should not be accompanied by any newspaper correspondents, but, at the same time, that the Government should give the newspapers every information as it came to hand. They decided, however, not to establish press censorship, but to leave it to the honour of the different local newspapers not to insert any news or reports of an alarming character, unless they were verified officially.

7. Prior to the outbreak, I had been informed by Admiral Durnford that H.M.S. *Terpsichore* would arrive at Durban on the 21st instant in connection with the visit of their Royal Highnesses, the Duke and Duchess of Connaught. Under advice of Ministers I wired him asking if he would kindly expedite her movements, as the presence of a ship-of-war at Durban would be very desirable whilst the local excitement lasted. The Admiral responded to my request, and the *Terpsichore* arrived on the 14th instant.

8. Scares continued to be prevalent, and demands for military assistance were received from all portions of the Colony. I am glad to say, however, that it has been found to be unnecessary to meet with the requests, although the Minister for Native Affairs, Mr Winter, who has behaved with conspicuous calmness and courage throughout, has been

obliged to go to districts where natives were arming and assembling, in order to restore good order and confidence. This was particularly the case in the district of Mid-Illovo, where certain native chiefs refused to report themselves when ordered to do so on Tuesday the 13th instant.

9. The disaffected of Umveli's tribe have retreated to the dense bush which extends towards the Umgomanzi. The chief himself was sent for to come to Maritzburg, and after some discussion he agreed to drive them out of the bush with 500 of his men. I was yesterday informed that he had only succeeded in getting together 200 of the older men, the young men refusing to turn out, but this morning a more favourable report has been received.

10. Arrangements have also been made to mobilise, if necessary, 1000 of the Christian Native Scouts.

11. On the 14th instant you requested me to send a full report on the origin and progress of this outbreak, to be used, if required, at the opening of Parliament. This I did yesterday morning, and the report furnished, I trust, sufficient information for the purposes for which you required it.

12. I may mention that Ministers are fully alive to the importance of dealing with this outbreak in the firmest and most vigorous manner, as they feel that unless you do so, and unless an example is made of those who have broken out in rebellion, the movement will be sure to spread, with the inevitable accompaniments of bloodshed and outrage.

13. I enclose copies of last telegrams received

from Lieutenant-Colonel McKenzie, showing what he has done. The force is now at Richmond, awaiting the results of Umveli's movements in the bush, and any development which the Government may decide upon in the direction of pacifying districts where natives have assembled in arms in a threatening manner. The movements of these natives have caused alarm, and obliged the farmers in some cases to go into laager in consequence of their attitude.

14. I believe that the vigorous policy which Ministers are pursuing will have the desired effect, and that it will be for the good not only of Natal but of South Africa in general, seeing that unexplained unrest has for some time been prevalent amongst all Kafir tribes from Barotseland to Cape Colony.—I have, &c., HENRY MCCALLUM.

Colonel MCKENZIE, Richmond, to PRIME MINISTER,  
Maritzburg.

*February* 15, 1906.—Have arrived here, all apparently quiet.

Tried two prisoners by court-martial for taking part in fight against police. Names are Uzondwein and Njwezi.

The evidence is very clear against both these men, and the Court found them guilty.

I confirmed the sentence, and had the two prisoners shot this afternoon in the presence of Mveli's men.

I have put the responsibility of tracing and arresting the other men who are still at large upon Mveli, and I trust that in a few days they will succeed in capturing them.

OFFICER COMMANDING, MCKENZIE'S Field Force,  
Elandskop, to PRIME MINISTER, Maritzburg.

*February 15, 1906.*—This morning I have destroyed the kraals and crops of those implicated in the late disturbance. All quiet.

After quoting the following letter, which refers to the Ethiopian movement, it will be well to go into the history of that movement, and to notice one popular mistake concerning it.

The GOVERNOR to the SECRETARY OF STATE.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, PIETERMARITZBURG,  
NATAL, *February 16, 1906.*

MY LORD,—I have this week received information from an authoritative source which has somewhat disturbed my mind. It is to the effect that the present native outbreak has been premature; that the unfathomable unrest which has been observed amongst the natives of South Africa during the last two years was intended to culminate in simul-

taneous and concerted action; that Ethiopianism, which has for its cry "Africa for the Blacks," is the mainspring of the movement; that the recent killing of pigs and white fowls was the outcome of instructions from Zululand to test whether the Natal tribes are to be depended on to obey further orders, and that these orders would be the simultaneous killing of everything else white, meaning the European population. Such orders were not to be issued until the mealies had been gathered in, and the present outbreak has been distinctly premature and upset calculations.

2. In connection with the movement, it was pointed out to me that large numbers of Natal Kafirs have been leaving their employment at Johannesburg; that the Basutos are also disposing of their pigs and fowls, and exchanging sheep for goats; that this outbreak was prognosticated in Rhodesia some weeks ago, and that all the information received points to Dinuzulu and his supporters as leading spirits.

3. I laid the whole matter before Ministers, and they are inclined to consider the information exaggerated, especially about Dinuzulu, which differs so essentially from that given to us by the Commissioner for Native Affairs in Zululand.

4. At the same time the Minister for Native Affairs considers the whole native situation to be far from satisfactory, and that there is much in the air which he cannot understand.

5. It affords an additional reason, however, for the determination of Ministers to stamp out the

present outbreak and sedition in a firm and vigorous manner, as otherwise a conflagration may arise which will not be confined to Natal.

6. It is most satisfactory that Ministers are keeping so collected, and not losing their heads for a moment. It is possible that this information is quite at fault, but, remembering how similar stories were current on the eve of the Matabele rebellion and were not believed in, I have considered it my duty to transmit it to you for whatever it is worth.—I have, &c.,

HENRY MCCALLUM

## CHAPTER XII.

### THE ETHIOPIANS.

Now what is the Ethiopian movement to which reference is frequently made in the newspapers? And are the Ethiopians really responsible for the present unrest?

The first public notice is to be found about ten years ago in the 'Voice of Missions,' published in America, and Dwane, who is here mentioned, belongs to Khama's tribe, and was brought up as a Wesleyan at Healdtown, near Fort Beaufort. But in 1896 he left the Wesleyans, went to America, and threw in his lot with the American Methodist Episcopal Church. The article says:—

No more inviting field can be found anywhere on earth for some of our scholarly divines who may possess the spirit of missions than the Ethi-



opian Church, and vast multitudes of intelligent, well-to-do, and indeed wealthy people, would gladly become attendants and members, for no coloured minister till a year or so ago was found in Cape Town. All the ordained ministers were white.

It must be remembered that the writer of the above was an American, and that he was not a Churchman, or he could not so entirely have ignored the native ministry of Africa, or been ignorant that as long ago as 1864 S. A. Crowther was consecrated a bishop there. But we quote his words fully, as they show a feeling very prevalent in the country, and, in spite of exaggeration, give some idea of the causes for the Ethiopian principle that a native church ought only to have its native ministry. He goes on:—

True, coloured people are members of different churches, in common with our brothers and sisters in white; they, however, have begun to discover that churches of their own race, with the required learning and ability, would be of far more benefit in a progressive measure than worshipping among the whites all the time, where they are compelled to occupy a subordinate status. . . . We found two A. M. E. Churches at Johannesburg, and such

was the multitude who came to hear us preach, we had to leave the church and hold service in the public street to accommodate the people. . . . We spent the next two days in receiving delegations and shaking the hands of thousands. From Johannesburg we went to Pretoria, where Elder Dwane had ordered the conference to meet. When we arrived at the depôt the scene beggared description. Thousands were there to meet and greet us, and give vent to their gratified emotions in a manner which made us feel exceedingly humble. . . . The conference remained in session a week, and was honoured with the presence of two kings and one chief. . . . While higher education is far more prevalent in this country than in South Africa, we believe the preponderance of common-sense is in their favour. They have large heads, massive brains, and the flash of intelligence in great numbers among them. And the result is made manifest in their business transactions: we predict that in a few years hence some of the greatest men of the race will be found in South Africa.

After this visit from America, Dwane was appointed Vicar-Bishop in Africa. He went to the United States, where he readily roused sympathy and collected funds; then he returned to his own country to carry out his idea of a Native Church for his own people.

It seemed to him that national customs and traditions were in danger of being swept away, and the only safety lay in having nothing to do with the white man.

At this point some Europeans regarded Dwane's position as religious, and some saw in it the beginning of a national movement which might endanger the peace of the country if it were not properly controlled; and while some were indifferent, and others merely talked, the Church (so often wrongly blamed in native questions by those who do not study Blue-Books) did something.

Dwane's headquarters were near Queenstown, and the rector of Queenstown, the Rev. Julius Gordon, made friends with him, and learnt his point of view.

This was in 1899, when Dwane became uneasy about his ecclesiastical position, and finally realised that he was not a bishop at all, but only a layman out of communion with the Church. He sought instruction, and asked that the Church of the Province of South Africa should receive him and his followers, and should give them some kind

of corporate entity within its fold. They desired to have their own synods and legislative powers under the Church's protection and regulations, thus claiming what has always been recognised — national developments within catholic limits. Conferences followed, and on August 25, 1900, the Episcopal Synod adopted a scheme for forming the Ethiopians into an order—"The Order of Ethiopia"—within the Church, to be in each diocese under the direct control of the bishop.

The Ethiopian movement is a remarkable one, and has gained a great hold upon the natives of South Africa. The members believe that they are descendants of the Ethiopians, and that they have gradually worked their way through the continent to the south. They hold that many unfulfilled prophecies in the Old Testament refer to them and their final reception as a people into the Church of Christ, quoting, "The Morian's Land [*i.e.*, Ethiopia] shall soon stretch out her hands unto God" (Ps. lxviii. 31). The movement was regarded as representing the principle

of revolt against the tendency to denationalise native converts, and as an attempt by natives to manage and educate the natives themselves.

On Sunday, August 26, after an agreement had been signed on each side, a service was held in Grahamstown Cathedral, at which Dwane, after making the baptismal vows and a vow of renunciation of past errors, was formally admitted by the Archbishop of Cape Town in the presence of the bishops and of his followers, and of a large congregation, into the fellowship of the Church.

(It is well to state all this plainly, for since that time much confusion has arisen on the subject.)

Dwane was then confirmed by the Archbishop on the presentation of the Bishop of Grahamstown, in whose diocese he was living, and, after making a promise of canonical obedience and of conformity to the constitution and regulations of the province and the several dioceses in which he should work, was admitted Provincial of the new Order of

Ethiopia. On the following morning Dwane received his first communion, and later was licensed as reader by the Bishop of Grahamstown, by whom he was ordained deacon in December 1900.

The members of the Ethiopian community were not received *en masse*, but individually, as each gave proof of real conviction and apprehension of truth.

It was a remarkable thing that so large a body of natives, with their leaders, should have borne patiently twelve months of waiting, and that Dwane and his elders should have been content, after a ministry of many years, to be put back into the position of laymen.

Dwane is still a deacon; his position has been that of Provincial of the Order of Ethiopia, to which post he was appointed for five years by the Archbishop of Cape Town in August 1900. He has also held a general licence to minister to the Order of Ethiopia in the Diocese of Grahamstown, with permission from the Bishop of S. John's for his diocese when required.

Dwane's work is the general supervision of the Order, under the bishops, who communicate with him through the senior chaplain for the Ethiopian missions. When at home he lives at Zalage, a roadside inn and store about fifty miles from Grahamstown and twenty-five miles from King William's Town, on the post-cart road between those places.

Now, after Dwane and certain of his followers were received into the Church, they were placed under instruction, which was given by English clergy; and Father Puller of Cowley, and Canon Cameron, now at Ryde, were among the first in charge of the mission. All connection with the American movement was now severed, and Dwane and his people became not only loyal sons of the Church, but loyal citizens of the English Government; and at this day an English clergyman, Rev. A. C. Grant, is chaplain to the Order of Ethiopia. But a confusion has arisen in the minds of some who find it difficult to distinguish between the Ethiopian movement (which is largely political) and the Ethiopian Order (which is religious), and it is well to

quote the following letter from Dwane to the Archbishop of Cape Town :—

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,—I am grieved and pained\* to find that attempts are being renewed again here and in England to classify the Order of Ethiopia with those who are said to be disloyal to the English Government in this land. In Natal, where these falsehoods are, I believe, being mainly manufactured, the Order of Ethiopia has not a single member. There is no Order of Ethiopia in Natal. This fact alone is enough to show those who care for truth how guarded they ought to be in receiving statements that are being made about the Order of Ethiopia.

My Lord Archbishop, I have no hope of convincing men who want no conviction in this matter, but I solemnly declare as the Provincial of this Order that a more loyal people to the English Government cannot be found anywhere on the face of this earth.—Your humble son in Christ,  
JAMES M. DWANE.

The disloyal Ethiopians are those who remained connected with the American negro "African Methodist and Episcopal Church," and did not follow Dwane into the Church, or those who have broken off from the various dissenting denominations and formed small



independent bodies of their own under various names.

But the title of Ethiopians had given rise to a confusion not easily dispelled unless the subject be intelligently investigated, and the Governor of Natal writes to the Secretary of State in the following terms:—

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, PIETERMARITZBURG,  
NATAL, June 14, 1906.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to inform you that, having observed from the English press that attempts are being made by a certain small section of the public to cast discredit on the Natal Government for having removed from locations certain so-called native churches, it is my duty to lay before your Lordship the facts of the case, so that any idea that this Government has acted either unjustly or indiscreetly may be at once dispelled.

2. I would premise by observing that it is greatly to be regretted that those who are interested in such a subject do not make proper inquiries before committing themselves to statements which they will probably be the first to regret when they find that they have been based on insufficient and faulty data. This regret will doubtless be intensified in view of their lofty ideas of humanity, for they cannot but feel that such humanity is not altogether wanting in the breasts of their colonial fellow-subjects, and that irresponsible, unjustified

attack is not a medium calculated to promote that mutual respect and confidence which should reign between the mother country and her responsible daughters.

3. Upon drawing the papers bearing upon the subject, I find that Ministers have forestalled me in dealing with it, and that they have already sent to the Agent-General a "Statement of facts in connection with the policy of the Natal Native Trust in regard to the unauthorised occupation of mission-houses by native evangelists so-called." A copy of this document is enclosed, and I propose to supplement it with a few remarks.

4. In the first place, I would point out that the Natal Native Trust is not opposed in the slightest to missionary effort, provided it is made under proper and efficient European control. It recognises what good has accrued in the past from the efforts of earnest men from across the sea who exercised fatherly supervision over their flocks. In view, however, of the spread of Ethiopianism, the secession of native congregations from parent churches, the indifferent type of native who has too often been placed in or usurped ecclesiastical authority, the determination of seceding bodies to exercise ecclesiastical self-support and self-control, and the dangerous political propaganda too often preached by natives who have received inadequate education and imbibed harmful teachings in America and elsewhere, the Natal Native Trust wisely determined that the heavy responsibility which attaches to it demanded that the locations which are in its

charge should not be made the arena for promoting sedition under the guise of encouraging native aspirations and for rebellion against the churches of which they should form members under effective control.

5. In connection with this subject I would call your Lordship's attention to the following resolution passed by the General Church Council which sat in the Witwatersrand last month: "The Council considers that the movement known as Ethiopianism is fraught with grave peril both to the cause of Christ's Kingdom and to the interest of the State. The Council is convinced that the time has not yet come when the supervision and control of white missionaries can safely be withdrawn from native work. While, therefore, it believes that every encouragement should be given for the development of mission churches in the way of self-help, it is of opinion that in every legitimate way the Ethiopian movement should be discouraged."

6. I would also ask you to peruse the resolutions passed by the Native Affairs Commission in paragraph 321 of their report, which concludes by stating that, reviewing these resolutions, the Commission considers that "effort should be directed towards securing efficient constitutional control and organisation in order that the influences at work may be wisely directed, and any individual cases in which pastors abuse the trust reposed in them may be amenable to authoritative discipline. To this end the Commission would deprecate the recognition of detached secessionary fragments ac-

knowledging no efficient central authority." This is but putting in other words what has been the policy of the Natal Native Trust for some years past.

7. In the next place, I would point out that the mission-houses which have been illegally erected on location lands and the unauthorised constructions of which have called for action by the Trust, have been improvised shanties, a few feet square, of the most primitive description, consisting of wattle-and-daub huts or of loose rough stones. Such shanties may possibly, as a matter of courtesy, be called mission-stations, as Ministers have done in their memorandum, but to characterise them as churches is an entire misnomer.

8. Neither have any of them been burnt by the Trust, as alleged at home. Ministers are quite correct in their paragraph No. 2 when they refer to such a statement as misleading and incorrect.

9. They refer in that same paragraph to an unauthorised school in Xegwana's location, the rough framework of which was put up and abandoned by applicant when its construction was disallowed. The green wattle poles were then destroyed by fire, as the magistrate reported on the 22nd December that nobody would buy them, and that it was not worth the trouble and cost of bringing them to Estcourt.

10. To show that this framework was never intended for a mission-station, I may mention that when forwarding Nkabini's application to reside in Xegwana's location, the magistrate minuted on

the 15th August 1903, "Applicant is living at Mandambi's kraal, and wishes to start a school and build a square house for himself. He came from Impendle, and has started building."

11. As regards the mission-station referred to in Ministers' memorandum, paragraph 4.(1), I find that the South Africa General Mission were treated with much consideration. Constant letters passed before the imposed condition of a resident white missionary was complied with. It was, of course, immaterial to the Trust how many native evangelists or preachers were employed at the station under him. Moreover, in the original resolution by the Trust on November 15, 1901, which was conveyed to the Rev. S. Walton on the 30th November, a further condition was laid down that the consent of the chief Mbayi, in whose district the station was to be situated, would have to be obtained. The chief would not agree, but on the recommendation of the Minister for Native Affairs, I approved on the 26th November 1902 of the mission being allowed to remain in spite of this opposition.

12. In June 1904 that official, having heard that a European missionary was no longer in charge of the station, ordered inquiry to be made, when it was found that the European missionary had been withdrawn the previous December, that the sod hut was closed, but that services were held there on Sundays by Mdoda and other natives. Mdoda, who is an undesirable polygamist, made a statement to the magistrate as follows: "The Reverend

Suter, who is in Durban, has charge of the station, but now I am acting for him. The Reverend Saunders left last winter, and there is no white person in charge now. My family consists of myself and two wives."

13. The South Africa General Mission, having failed to carry out the conditions of tenure and abandoned the station, the Minister gave directions for the hut to be removed, which was done. The mission have quite recently (May 16th) applied for permission to re-establish the mission on the old conditions, but the papers have not yet been considered by the Native Trust.

14. As regards paragraph 4 (2) of Ministers' memorandum, this case came before the Administrator during my absence on leave in England. Dhlamini, an Ethiopian, built the hut on the location without permission, held services therein, defied the Government, and, though repeatedly warned, would not obey orders. The hut was therefore removed and Dhlamini fined by the magistrate under the provisions of the Native Code. The John Sibiya referred to in the paragraph is a recognised leader of the Ethiopian movement, and is a dangerous propagandist.

15. As regards paragraph 4 (3), this case also came before Sir Henry Bale. I find from the papers that this mission-station was put up on the location, without any authority, by Ethiopians, who did not even ask for permission. Some sort of supervision was originally exercised by the Rev. C. K. Hodges, of the Wesleyan Church, and

afterwards by the Congregational, but this was quite superficial. The preacher, Mgazi, was a disreputable Ethiopian, who displayed rebellious and dangerous characteristics. The unauthorised hut was quite rightly removed in accordance with the declared policy of the Trust.

16. The cases mentioned in paragraph 4 (4) and 4 (5) were dealt with by me before I left for England on leave of absence. The two stations were about six miles apart, and both were constructed of wattle-and-daub. That at Umqeku was run entirely by Ethiopians, who were under no ecclesiastical control whatever, and were trespassers on the location.

17. The other was nominally under the control of the Rev. S. Pixley. It was erected without any authority, and a native missionary put in charge. Mr Pixley was informed that if a resident male European missionary could be appointed, the necessary authority would be issued by the Trust, but otherwise it was to be removed.

18. Mr Pixley, in a letter dated November 18, 1903, said he was unable to comply with this condition, but added, "If the order is intended to hinder or shut out the so-called Ethiopian movement from the location and Colony, I heartily approve of it."

19. The events of the last few months and information received in connection therewith, show that the Native Trust has throughout exercised both prescience and wise discretion in their determination not to allow the spread of objectionable and dan-

gerous ideas on the locations in the charge under the specious guise of religion. At the same time, the Trust has every desire to assist the various churches in their missionary efforts, provided members are satisfied that congregations are under thorough European control and supervision, and that any attempt by native evangelists to use ecclesiastical authority for preaching and spreading Ethiopian views can be effectively and promptly dealt with.

20. I may mention, in conclusion, that the Roman Catholic Church in the Colony carefully follows the policy of the Trust in insisting upon resident white missionaries at their mission-stations to guide and control those working under them, and that Bishop Delalle has informed me that he considers it would be both dangerous and impolitic to follow any other.—I have, &c.,

HENRY MCCALLUM.

The context of this letter, besides the fact that none of Dwane's followers are in Natal, shows at once that no reference is made to the Order of Ethiopia, for that is directly under the management of English bishops and clergy, and it has been suggested that the title of the Order might well be changed, so as to free a loyal body of men from the suspicion of disloyalty.



## CHAPTER XIII.

### UNREST IN NATAL.

AFTER a few telegrams and letters of no great importance, we next read the instructions to the Commandant of Militia :—

COMMANDANT OF MILITIA to Lieutenant-Colonel  
McKENZIE, C.B., C.M.G., V.D.

MILITIA HEADQUARTERS,  
*February 17, 1906.*

With reference to our conference to-day at Richmond as to your further movements, the following was agreed upon :—

On Monday next, the 19th instant, you will march with all your mounted men and one or two sections of artillery from Richmond to Springvale, crossing the Umkomaas by the Josephine Bridge, thence to Highflats, and thence to Ixopo. From Ixopo you will proceed to Mabehlana, thence to Bulwer and to Elandskop.

Circumstances may cause you to change this route, and you are not to consider yourself bound by it.

You will send two men with a message to Miskofeli and other chiefs on your route before your forces approach their neighbourhood, assuring them that they need fear nothing from the column under your command.

You will take care that nothing is done by your force to provoke an outbreak on the part of the natives.

If Miskofeli does not come and pay his respects to you as Officer Commanding of the Force, you will take this as a sign of fear or as indicating that he is not as loyal to the Government as he professes to be; you will, however, take no action until you have gone on and given some of the smaller chiefs an opportunity of coming to see you. By their demeanour, if they come to pay their respects to you according to native custom, or by their remaining aloof, you will try to form an opinion of their attitude towards the Government. You will then warn the Government (assuming that Miskofeli remains aloof), and report fully on the situation.

You will also warn the residents at Ixopo, High-flats, Donnybrook, Umzinto, and Dronk Vlei, and other places if necessary, to get their families into laager and be prepared to defend themselves if attacked. (I would favour one or two large laagers in preference to many small ones.)

You will then summon Miskofeli to come to see

you, assuring him of his personal safety. If he comes and explains his previous non-appearance to your satisfaction, and effects the arrest of the members of his tribe who armed, he will not be punished, but if his explanation is not considered satisfactory you may, if you so think fit, punish him by a fine of cattle.

If the chief refuses or delays to come to you on being again summoned and warned that if he neglects to appear before you he will be severely punished, you will burn his kraal and seize his cattle at your discretion, and if you see fit, disarm his tribe and put down any armed resistance.

Under no circumstances will you arrest the chief if he attends before you.

Any fine that you may impose you will collect from the chief, by force if necessary.

After having dealt with this chief you may deal with other smaller chiefs, if you have reason to think that they are defying the Government.

I wish to impress on you the necessity for great discretion, with the object of avoiding a conflict if possible, and if you should have reason to think that other tribes will be in sympathy with and possibly assist Chief Miskofeli to resist, you will delay extreme or decisive measures until you have advised me, in order that I may have time to prepare reinforcements by mobilising remainder of the active Militia and possibly the 1st Militia Reserve.

H. T. BRU-DE-WOLD,

*Colonel-Commandant of Militia.*

And here, before seeing what is said about the Zulus in 1906, we will go back a couple of years.

Mr C. T. R. Saunders, the Civil Commissioner of the Province of Zululand, in evidence given in 1904, stated some things which throw light on the present state of affairs. He was asked, "Why do you consider that a uniform policy throughout South Africa is desirable?" and he answered, "Because these people, going about as they do now, working and coming in contact with people from other parts, go back with all sorts of stories that one people are ruled in one way and another in another. They think they should have one system of laws to apply to the whole. For instance, these people cannot for the life of them understand why in the Transvaal Zulus should be charged £2 hut-tax, when in other parts they are only charged 14s. They say, 'We are all under the British Government.' They cannot discriminate between the different forms of government in various parts of South Africa. They look on the country as wholly under the British

Government, and they cannot understand that kind of thing. I think in things of that kind, whatever change is made, it should be made uniform throughout the whole of the country."

He was then asked whether he did not think it inevitable that the natives in different parts of South Africa would in time adopt a common attitude towards the Government, and his answer deserves attention: "I think it will depend very much on how you rule them."

Of the Ethiopian movement he had had little experience, but what followed shall be given fully.

Since 1879, when the great war with the Zulus was fought, how many reductions of the area of Zululand have there been?—There has only been one, when the whole of the Vryheid district was alienated, and now we are making the second curtailment.

There was no reduction after the Zulu war?—No; we then pledged them distinctly that we were not going to take their country from them.

Who made that pledge?—I think it was made by Lord Wolseley: it is on official record. They were told that we were fighting their king, not them, and that we were not going to take their

country, but we would leave them their country. Distinct pledges to that effect were made, and they are on record in Blue-Books, I know. Then again, on the annexation of Zululand to Natal in 1897, we renewed those pledges; when we annexed that country we said we were simply annexing it for their benefit and it would not be taken from them—and the second curtailment is taking place now.

These pledges are known and remembered by them?—They are known and remembered well. They were given publicly, and that is why, when I allude to pledges, I say that if we break faith with these people it will be a fatal thing.

Now this is evidence given before a Government Commission by the highest Government official in Zululand. Comment is out of place and unnecessary, and it is not the function of the writer to suggest the opinion of the reader. Yet in 1906, when we might expect to read of unrest in Zululand, we find that the Commissioner has confidence in his people, and is still calm:—

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, PIETERMARITZBURG,  
NATAL, *February 23, 1906.*

MY LORD,—Referring to my despatch of the 16th instant, I have the honour to inform you that I have had a long discussion with Mr Saunders on the subject of the attitude of Dinuzulu and the

Zulus. He maintains his confidence in them and in the reports of his secret agents, and contends that the present disturbances are practically confined to Natal natives.

2. So certain are Ministers that Zulus are to be trusted at this juncture, that they have made arrangements with Mr Saunders for him to raise at once an impi of 2000 Zulus under European command, to assist, if necessary, the Field Force which is being despatched against the recalcitrant and defiant natives residing in the Mapumulo location, a very broken and rough district situated midway between Greytown and Stanger. Balancing all the information at my disposal, I cannot but feel that Ministers are justified in the policy which they are adopting of dividing the native population amongst themselves.

3. An additional point which I have not hitherto referred to is that the proceedings of the Germans in South-West Africa are giving rise to much unrest and adding to the confidence of the natives throughout South Africa.—I have, &c.,

HENRY MCCALLUM.

The Civil Commissioner is not alone in thinking that circumstances in Zululand are such as may tend to dissatisfaction, and some things were said and other things hinted at by Dr Addison, district surgeon of Durban, which afford food for reflection.

It takes an Englishman at home some time to realise that native races do not move without reason. Their cause may be a mistaken one, but it is worth while to sift their grievances, and let them give expression to their feelings, for a brooding resentment is more dangerous than open acts of rebellion. The desire to be under the rule of the "great lion of London, with the Almighty at the head of all things," should surely be fostered, however much trouble it may involve.

Dr Addison said that the Government of Natal for the last twenty-five years had kept the natives quiet, but as a colonial he thought that the time had come when the natives should have some direct representation in the councils of the country, and that it might be done by giving the chiefs a vote. Some of his evidence shows that he foresaw what has now taken place, and we give it *verbatim* :—

Do you say the natives are discontented with British rule here?—I do not think they are quite contented. I do not mean only in Natal, but particularly Zululand.



Can you, from any reliable information you have got, inform the commission how that discontent is bringing itself forward; how is it manifesting itself at all?—No; I do not think I would like to say. I do not think that we notice it very much. But you have only to question the natives, and you will find that there is discontent amongst them.

But do you think that if the natives were disaffected towards the Government they would be very ready to give any information about it to any one questioning them?—That is just it; they will not give it.

How have you been able to ascertain it, or get at the fact of their discontent?—I do not want to mention names, but I have spoken to natives on the subject; and I can tell you this, that a native not many months ago came and informed me of things that were happening in the place, and which he said would happen, but when he told me, he said, "If you tell anybody that I told you this, I will deny it to your face." He told me something about his chief, and one or two things which are better left unsaid.

Is it from information got from this man that you have derived your views?—No, he is not the only one.

Have you been able to ascertain with what particular aspect of the Government in relation to the native they are discontented with?—In one way I do not think they can understand the change of Ministry so much; they have not got accustomed to that yet, and they do not quite

see why so-and-so is the head of the natives at present. "We knew him as a boy," they say, "and now he is head of the natives. Why is he head of the natives now? And in a few months time there will be somebody else."

There is nothing they have said which affects their liberties in any way or anything that oppresses them in the way of legislation that they have spoken of as causing disaffection?—They say that we have not one fixed policy; they say we are always "prodding" them. The native says, "If you are discontented with me, cut my head off, but do not keep prodding me all day long."

Have they mentioned any particular incidence of legislation which has caused them to feel discontent in any way?—In Zululand they object strongly to the occupation by Europeans, and with the natives in Natal there is this labour question. One thing they grumble about very much is where their chiefs turn them out to work for the Government for £1 a-month.

That is on locations?—They turn them off private lands too, I think.

Not lawfully?—It is done, I know.

Is discontent more acute now than it was twenty-five years ago?—In Zululand, yes.

That has only been a portion of this colony since 1897?—Yes.

Evidence before the Commission with regard to the Zulus is so outspoken that it strikes

us now with surprise that it did not become more generally known at the time, but there is truth in the saying, "Out of sight, out of mind," and those who come home and talk about South Africa are not the old residents who know the real state of affairs, and poor Africa has had too many enemies who have written books.

The next witness in the great Commission is the Rev. F. Roach, a missionary, and his evidence gives some idea of the tension among the natives. He was asked—

Have you had any opportunities of observing the native opinion towards the white race and the white Government, as to whether they compare favourably or unfavourably with their own form of Government before the war?—The heathen Zulu, I think, compares it unfavourably with his own form of government before the war. I have had expressions on that point from native headmen themselves who are heathen, old heathen Izinduna or headmen, and they say, "No, we prefer the old system." They say that in these days "indab itengiwe" (bribery) is practised; that evil-doers occasionally get off scot-free; and that children and young fellows get entirely out of hand, because the magistrates' courts uphold them

very often in cases of disputes between themselves and their parents. In these three ways they say the Government of the present time is inferior to their old system of government. I do not put that as my own opinion; that is the expression I have got from the natives.

Is that the view of all natives in Zululand, so far as you can say?—I cannot say; I know it is the opinion of old headmen, whose views I have asked—not with a view to this Commission, but during past years.

So far as you have been able to ascertain, what is the general feeling of the native towards the white race?—Just at the present time [May 1904], I think they look on the white race with suspicion. If I may coin the expression, I should say they are in a state of nervousness with regard to what is going to happen, and that has been accentuated during the last few months by two things—first by the census, to which very large numbers were greatly averse, and also by the fact that the Delimitation Commission had been touring through the country with a view to finding out farms for Europeans. I know those two things have tended to produce a very strongly marked case of what I might call nerves throughout the whole of the people. They are just on the tiptoe of expectation, and are very anxious in certain districts, not knowing what is before them. More than that, I think it is true that the white race is held in much less respect than it was twenty years ago.

Have you heard why?—There are various reasons. One is that the fellows working in Johannesburg and other towns and centres of European civilisation come back with stories of all they have seen and all they have heard. One is bound to be glad that they do not understand English, because they would come back with stories much more highly coloured than those with which they do come back. I know that they have come back from Johannesburg talking about the white prostitutes for black men, and if there is anything which will make them cease to respect the white man it is that.

Is that unknown in Natal towns?—I have never heard of it in Natal towns.

Mr Roach then gave evidence to show that Christian natives were more industrious than the heathen.

Now it must be remembered that two years went by between the period of this inquiry and the collection of the poll-tax, and the question may be asked, "How far was the poll-tax the cause of bringing about the recent disturbances?"

It is not an easy question to answer, for though there is little doubt that it increased dissatisfaction, it did not create it. Perhaps it is best answered by a native of Natal.

Matiwane, secretary of the Natal Congress, a body representing the educated Christian natives of Natal, said in an interview that it was impossible to place one's finger on the special cause of the rebellion, which was wrapped in the wider question of general native policy. "The bulk of the natives," he continued, "sympathise with the rebels in their grievances against the native policy followed in Natal, but they entirely disassociate themselves from rebellion as such. The natives' grievances include the lack of a mutual understanding between the whites and natives, especially affecting the educated natives, the inconveniences of the Pass Law, the appointment of young magistrates, compulsory road-making, tribal responsibility under the Cattle Stealing Act, and the conditions of the occupation of native reserve lands. The poll-tax, Matiwane added, had also had some effect on the natives, because it had not been properly explained. He suggested the formation of a Native Advisory Council consisting of chiefs, representatives of the Christian natives, and white representatives, with a Government official as President. He eulogised the missionaries for their civilising work, and said that the natives would like to see similar work from the Government. The powers of the chiefs should, he declared, be limited. The chiefs were appointed by right of succession, and some of them were totally unfit for their position. It was absolutely necessary to crush the rebellion before attempting to arrive at a better understanding, and he emphasised the

fact that the Christian natives, numbering many thousands, would to a man throw in their lot with the Government.—*Reuter's Special Service.*

The official correspondence in the spring of 1906 between Natal and the English Government cannot be quoted at length, but we find that Colonel McKenzie, in command of the Field Force, writes :—

Speaking generally on the situation in this district, I think there is no questioning the fact that great unrest has existed amongst the natives which has been caused by what the natives consider to be excessive taxation. There is no doubt that chiefs have been communicating with each other with a view to combination, as in the imposition of the poll-tax they consider they have a general cause for complaint.

If we look back to the year 1904 we shall find evidence before the Commission with regard to the poll-tax, given by Mr T. G. Gibson, a magistrate, and it clears our notions by giving actual figures. The Chairman asked—

Do you think, in the abstract, an able-bodied man ought to pay a poll-tax ?—That question

I would have apply to those living on Crown lands.

Why?—Because I think those on farms are very severely taxed as it is.

You would not call that a tax, would you? A man pays for something that he gets: he gets land, communal grazing, water, and so on?—Yes; but he has not a very large margin left over if he pays £3 a-year for each hut.

He is a tenant, and presumably he makes an agreement which is agreeable to him?—I do not think it would be within his paying power; his earning power would be disproportionate to the exactions.

Do you mean his earning power out of the bit of land he gets?—Yes.

Is it not always open to him to supplement his earning power on the land by going out and earning wages, which are now rather high everywhere?—Of course he can do that, but I do not think he can get more than £2 a-month, which means £24 in a year, and that does not leave very much margin for paying poll-tax, I think. Besides, rents are rising; the landlords are charging more and more.

Do you object to it on the ground that he cannot afford to do it?—I think in all cases one ought to try to apportion the exactions to the earning powers of the people—and their earning powers are not very high.

The natives' earning powers?—Yes.

What would you call a high earning power?—



A great many natives in Natal work for about £1 a-month—that is, £12 a-year. A native has to buy his cattle, pay his fees and various things, and that does not leave him a very large margin assuming that he even works the whole year round. As a rule the natives only work for about six months in the year, and then go back to plant for their families. I do not think there is much room for a poll-tax, except in the case of people who are living on Crown lands.

In a letter from the Governor of Natal, dated March 2, 1906, there is the first mention in detail of Bambata:—

Since I last wrote we have had additional trouble with a chief at Greytown, named Bambata. A serious faction fight took place some time ago between two divisions of the tribe of which Bambata is the chief. The case was tried in the civil courts, and it was found that Bambata had been fomenting these disturbances. It was decided to relieve Bambata of the control of his tribe. Taking advantage of the general disturbed condition of the country, he has more or less defied the authority of the Government in this matter, and has declined to leave his kraal when sent for to come to Maritzburg.

Then come two telegrams which need no comment, but which form part of the history of South Africa never to be effaced:—

The SECRETARY OF STATE to the GOVERNOR.

*March 26.* No. 1.—Question in Parliament on Thursday inquiring whether Gobizembe had been fined 1200 head of cattle and 3500 sheep and a portion of his land confiscated, and whether this action was taken by the military or civil authorities of Natal.

Please telegraph what are the facts and the reason given for the action taken.—ELGIN.

The GOVERNOR to the SECRETARY OF STATE.

*March 27.* No. 1.—Referring to your telegram of 26th March, No. 1, Gobizembe has been fined 1200 cattle and 3500 sheep and goats. Land on which Gobizembe's tribe resides belongs to, and is administered by, Natal Native Trust. Portion of this, with the natives residing thereon, has been placed under authority of two adjoining chiefs. Gobizembe is to be deposed and the remainder of location will for the time being be administered by magistrate. Gobizembe has no legal title to the land in question, and is merely allowed by the Natal Native Trust to locate his tribe thereon during good behaviour. The fine was inflicted by the Officer Commanding Militia under authority of martial law and with approval of civil authorities.

The punishment which has been inflicted on this chief was in consequence of serious acts of defiance towards the magistrate on the part of large section

of his tribe and the failure of Gobizembe to ~~comply~~ with orders of supreme chief as communicated to him by the Officer Commanding Militia to deliver up offenders to the authorities.—MCCALLUM.

At this point in the history of Natal, whatever may have been the previous state of interest taken in affairs by the world at large, there was now no doubt that a crisis was reached which affected not South Africa alone, but British Colonies generally. Three short telegrams place the matter before us :—

The GOVERNOR to the SECRETARY OF STATE.

*March* 27. No. 2.—Court-martial which tried murderers of police officers have sentenced twelve prisoners to be shot out of twenty-four tried for the offence. Proceedings of court-martial have been carefully reviewed by Governor in Council. Proceedings being in order and no injustice committed, I have accepted unanimous advice of my Ministers that sentence shall be carried into effect. Another court-martial passed sentence of death on seven other natives, but, as actions with which they were charged were not immediately connected with actual attack on police, sentence in each case has been commuted by the confirming officer.—MCCALLUM.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE to the GOVERNOR.

*March 28.*—Your telegram 27th March. No. 2.  
—Continued executions under martial law certain to excite strong criticism here, and as his Majesty's Government are retaining troops in Colony, and will be asked to assent to the Act of Indemnity necessary to regularise the action taken, trial of these murder cases by civil courts greatly to be preferred.

I must impress upon you necessity of utmost caution in this matter, and you should suspend executions until I have had opportunity of considering your further observations.—ELGIN.

*March 29.*—Agent-General informs me that your Government has resigned in consequence of my telegram of 28th March. It appears to me that this action must be based on a misapprehension of the meaning I intended to convey. Please telegraph fully as to situation, and in reply to my telegram of 28th March. Cabinet meets to-morrow morning.—ELGIN.

This demand elicits a very full reply, and the Secretary of State, in answering it, says :—

His Majesty's Government have at no time had the intention to interfere with action of the Responsible Government of Natal or to control Governor in exercise of prerogative. But your

Ministers will, I feel sure, recognise that in all the circumstances now existing, and in view of the presence of British troops in the Colony, his Majesty's Government are entitled, and were in duty bound, to obtain full and precise information in reference to these martial law cases in regard to which an Act of Indemnity has ultimately to be assented to by the Crown. In the light of the information now furnished his Majesty's Government recognise that the decision of this grave matter rests in the hands of your Ministers and yourself.

But the world has been moved, and messages are flashed from Australia and New Zealand :—

The GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF AUSTRALIA to the  
SECRETARY OF STATE.

(Received 10.58 A.M., March 31, 1906.)

Have received minute from my Ministers to the following effect: Since an intervention of his Majesty's Ministers for the United Kingdom with the administration of the self-governing Colony Natal would tend to establish, even in regard to prerogative of pardon, a dangerous precedent affecting all states within the Empire, Your Excellency's advisers desire most respectfully to appeal to his Majesty's Ministers for reconsideration of the resolution at which they are reported to have arrived on this subject.—NORTHCOTE.

The GOVERNOR OF NEW ZEALAND to the  
SECRETARY OF STATE.

(Received 9.10 A.M., April 3, 1906.)

Am desired by my Government ascertain precise position in respect to action of Imperial authorities in instructing Governor of Natal to postpone execution of certain natives. My Ministers feel satisfied no interference intended with constitutional powers of self-governing Colony, but owing to meagre and conflicting reports my Government desire to be relieved of anxiety.—PLUNKET.

These telegrams are answered, the postponed executions take place, the Natal Ministry resume office, and military proceedings hasten to their end.

The SECRETARY OF STATE to the GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF AUSTRALIA and the GOVERNOR OF NEW ZEALAND.

(Sent 7.30 P.M., April 5, 1906.)

*Telegram.*

In reply to your telegram [of the 31st March] [of the 3rd April], I shall be glad if you will inform your Ministers that I telegraphed to Governor of Natal 30th March stating that his Majesty's Government have at no time had inten-

tion to interfere with action of the Responsible Government of Natal or to control Governor in exercise of prerogative, but that Ministers would recognise that in all the circumstances then existing, and in view of the presence of British troops in the Colony, his Majesty's Government were entitled and were in duty bound to obtain full and precise information as to these martial law cases.

Telegram was read by me in House of Lords on same day and action of his Majesty's Government was explained by Under-Secretary in House of Commons on 2nd April.

Papers on the subject will be published to Parliament in due course, and you will be furnished with copies without delay.—ELGIN.

The official despatches at this period constantly repeat themselves: one day they deal with alarming rumours of a general outbreak, then they report all quiet and no cause for fear; and this goes on for some time.

The bewilderment which seems to have enveloped the minds of the natives, and which the ordinary English reader cannot entirely throw off, appears at this time to have affected those in high places, and we read the following letter with interest:—

The SECRETARY OF STATE to the GOVERNOR.

DOWNING STREET, April 19, 1906.

SIR,—I observe that in your telegram, of 10th April, you speak of the Executive Council having advised you to exercise “the prerogative of mercy.” It seems doubtful whether this phrase can properly be applied in cases of sentences by courts-martial under martial law, and I am disposed to think that it would be more correct to say that the Executive Council had advised you not to confirm the death sentences.

Similarly, in your minute to Ministers of 17th March you speak of death sentences (by courts-martial under martial law) being considered in Executive Council “in accordance with Royal Instructions.” It is clear, however, from the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on the 2nd of April that such sentences cannot be regarded as being on the same footing as sentences pronounced by lawfully established courts to which the Royal Instructions refer.

In making these remarks I beg that you will not understand me as in the least degree questioning the propriety of your acting in concurrence with your Ministers in matters arising out of the present application of martial law.—I have, &c.,

ELGIN.

Now there will always be two sides to every question, and those who hear both



sides must of necessity form a less hasty judgment than those who hear only one side; so it is worth while to hear what the Zulus say, and still more worth while to know what they think.

For this reason we will quote what a Zulu wrote for an American paper, not necessarily as endorsing his opinion, but as giving the Zulu point of view:—

*July 14, 1906.*

ZULUS' DEMAND: REPRESENTATION MUST  
ACCOMPANY TAXATION.

*London.*—Nine out of ten people who have read of the fighting in Zululand have characterised the affair as an ordinary uprising of a native race against the British rule. But in this instance the cause of the trouble lies deeper. It is no more than a constitutional stand of a down-trodden people against their oppressors.

But the natives were not the aggressors in this matter. No idea of raising a rebellion existed on our part; but for the illegalities of English rule no trouble would have occurred.

The cause of the present disturbances dates back from the end of last year. Then the Natal Government levied a poll-tax on every unmarried Zulu. It was to become due on January 1, 1906, but was not to be enforced until the end of May.

The amount of the tax was fixed at \$5 per head.

This impost was bitterly resented by the natives. They took up exactly the same stand as the American colonists in the War of Independence. If they were taxed in this way, they demanded to be represented in the Natal Parliament. But instead of this the native yet remains a chattel before the law.

Still this was not the sole objection. In many cases payment of such an amount as this was an impossibility. The Zulu's wealth is reckoned in cattle, and their herd is held by the members of a family in common. Individual property scarcely exists. The tax, therefore, fell not upon one man, but upon his whole family. And its severity can be judged from the fact that \$5 represents more or less the earnings of an able-bodied Zulu for ten weeks.

The Government knew this. They were aware the tax would fall as a fearful handicap upon a Zulu family, and its payment would be almost an impossibility. And my opinion is that this tax was deliberately put so high that the Zulu would be quite unable to pay it, working as he desires to do under ordinary agricultural conditions.

There was a reason for this, and it lay close at hand. The gold mines—the curse of South Africa—needed labour. The mine-owners feared the Liberal Government in England would dispense with the Chinese cheap labour. They knew that the natives would not work for the slave wages

paid the Chinese, and consequently they devised some plan to induce the natives to work whether they like or not. The poll-tax seemed to provide this incentive. And apparently the Government and the mine-owners played into one another's hands.

This view is borne out by the incident that led up to the present slaughtering of the Zulus under the guise of so-called war. I have pointed out that the tax was not to be collected until May 31. But a police force was sent down to collect it at the beginning of February! What would be said if taxes were forcibly collected in America four months before they became due? Yet this illegal process was carried out. One native—a village Hampden—protested against payment. He was shot. Thereupon the natives thought they were being attacked under no pretext whatever, and in self-defence, as they thought, they attacked the police, and an Englishman, Inspector Hunt, was killed.

English vengeance quickly followed. Martial law was proclaimed and a military force sent down. Twelve of the natives were captured, tried before the military tribunal for murder, and condemned to death. A futile appeal was made to the Privy Council, and the men were shot.

On two points in connection with these executions I should like to dwell. First, these men were tried under martial law. But their offence was committed before this was proclaimed. According, then, to ordinary standards, their trial ought

to have taken place before the civil court, where justice would have been more secure. And, again, the primary effect of martial law, according to the usual meaning of the term, is the suspension of the civil courts, at any rate, so far as their functions are taken over by the military tribunals. Yet in this case the ordinary courts were sitting in the full discharge of their duties. Why, then, were these men not tried before them? Had they been, no sane man could have imagined that the accused would have been adjudged guilty of anything more than manslaughter at the most.

On the succeeding "rebellion" I need not dwell. It is only necessary to say that although there was unrest and discontent among the natives in consequence of the poll-tax, yet any idea of an armed rising was entirely absent. They knew well enough that against the machine-guns of the English their assegais had no chance. The so-called rebellion of Bambata was nothing more than his attempt to escape to a place of safety. The fighting that has occurred has simply been self-defence on the part of the natives. And the result of the campaign is that 3000 natives have been mowed down while the British casualties scarce exceed a score. But the English have shelled our villages, looted our cattle, destroyed our crops, and burned our churches. Their end is attained. The native can now do nothing but go and work in the mines.

Now as to the future: discontent there is and has been among the natives. Nor will it die away

until our grievances are redressed. We have no anti-European feeling. All we ask for is justice. Let us have our representation in return for taxation. Let England give us the direct franchise. Then all discontent and misunderstanding will cease on the part of the natives.

England plumes herself as the champion of the oppressed against the oppressor. Let her then guard us against the rapacious mine-owners. We simply ask for that boasted English justice. We don't want to swamp the white man in Africa; but we desire a share in the country. England must give us some political rights; she must prevent us from being dragged from our peaceful homes to find gold to make the rich more wealthy.

And when we get our rights, then let us have as governor a man like President Roosevelt, who will carry out the law without fear or favour. There will be no further native trouble in Africa. A Britain worthy of the name of Great is great not by reason of the extension of her military frontier, but in the strength of her moral position—great in her loyalty to her old traditions as the land of religious liberty, the home of constitutional freedom. But this must be in practice, not in theory. It is this freedom we claim as Britishers. A free government must find its safety in happy and contented citizens, who are protected in their rights and free from unnecessary burdens.

Certainly those to whom we have talked

say this: The poll-tax was not to be enforced till May 31; why, then, was a police force sent on February 8?

This is not a question for an irresponsible writer to answer; but questions asked intelligently in time leave their impress on public opinion, and ultimately the world is governed by public opinion. If the police force sent on February 8 had nothing to do with the collection of the poll-tax, it would be quite simple to explain that to the natives.

Before the enforcement of the poll-tax was Sir Theophilus Shepstone's advice remembered?—"It would be an advantage if meetings of chiefs and headmen were held to discuss with the Secretary for Native Affairs any change in the law or administration contemplated by the Government."

The art of discussion, which Sir Theophilus Shepstone recognised as so marked a feature in the Kafir character, and which he would utilise in the management of the people, has sometimes been mistaken for rebellious tendency, and there can be no doubt that

natives have found it difficult to understand why the Government should condemn at one time what it has fostered at another.

The old line of framing laws in accordance with the tribal customs has received a shock in the introduction of the poll-tax, which tends to break down the chain of responsibility of the tribal system. Such a shock is not got over by the force of military power. The day may come when the natives are not heard to talk or discuss, and their unwonted silence will be a more serious omen than the most animated arguments, but a rule which is grounded on fear alone will never live, and South Africa is the last country in the world where the British rule need be grounded on fear.

There was a remarkable article in 'The Tribune' of July 10, 1906, by Sir William Butler, which we shall do well to consider, as it represents the opinions of a minority; and while the majority will always make its voice heard, there is some chance of the minority being cried down. One passage in the article runs thus:—

The native trouble which has lately appeared in Natal is of very old standing. Its causes are only difficult to discover because of the multiplicity of the reasons assigned, and of the various side currents which influence the direction of the main stream. I find the following entry in an old note-book kept in Natal more than thirty years ago: "The night before I left London I met a gentleman who had lived for many years in Natal. 'You are going to Natal,' he said. 'Well, you will meet a man there who will tell you that all the evil in the country is caused by one thing. Five minutes later you will meet another man who will give you a totally different reason. Take my advice—hear everything and judge for yourself.'" Recently I visited Natal for the fourth time in my life. I had met on the ship that brought me from England one of Natal's ablest Ministers, and he had most kindly made the journey easy and pleasant to me.

The Colony was in a state of great excitement. A telegraphic despatch had just been received from the Colonial Office at home asking information regarding a proposed execution under martial law of twelve natives who had been tried by a court composed of Militia officers for the murder of a police officer and a constable, and directing that the execution should be suspended pending, as it would appear, the receipt of this information. The facts of the case were these. Resistance had been made by a party of natives armed with assegais to a patrol of mounted police sent to arrest men who had refused or delayed to pay a poll-tax



recently imposed by the Legislature. A couple of natives had been arrested and handcuffed. A rescue was successfully attempted. Shots were fired by the police, assegais were thrown by the natives. Some four or five men, white and black, were killed or wounded, including the officer and constable. The affray took place at dusk. Rain was falling. There had been a general scuffle, and the precise details of what happened are obscure; but it is admitted, so far as I have seen, that the first shot was fired by the police, and that a general *mêlée* had then ensued.

In consequence of this martial law was immediately proclaimed in Natal. Native kraals were burnt by punitive expeditions, crops were destroyed, cattle were seized over considerable districts, and two natives were summarily shot by drum-head court-martial. Twelve other men were to be executed at forty-eight hours' notice given by telegram to the Imperial Government at home. It was under these conditions that the Secretary of State had cabled to suspend the executions, and to ask for some further information as to the crimes and the trial of these condemned men.

Thereupon Natal flew out. The Ministry resigned. Indignation meetings were held, and the action of the Home Government was denounced from one end of the Colony to the other. One man—a gentleman whose name deserves to live—had the courage to stand up in the largest of these indignation meetings and to protest against the action taken by the Natal Government. There

had been no necessity or occasion for martial law, he said, and even if circumstances had warranted the departure from civil law, he pointed out that the offences for which the twelve men were condemned had been committed prior to the proclamation. Further, he laid stress upon the fact that the civil tribunals were all in being, that the King's writ still ran, and that there was no state of war in the Colony.

"Yes," we say, as we lay down the paper, "but that was written by Sir William Butler, and we have the impression that he made some mistake about the late war, and there was some misunderstanding. Or was it just the reverse, and the misunderstanding was on the side of the home authorities?"

Well, the matter is writ large in history, and we shall do well to take the advice of the old Natal resident, "Hear everything, and judge for yourself." Only it is not very easy to hear accurately when thousands of miles separate us from a land we have never seen.

There is a marvellous suggestive power in the silence of Africa—a silence which those in England can only guess at. Perhaps it

finds its counterpart in the grave faces of its people, for Africa in a singular degree bears the sorrow of the world in spite of its glorious sunshine and the vault of blue sky, which those who have once known it miss so strangely at home in England.

When the ground is greenest the locusts come in their myriads and leave a desert behind them; when the cattle are at their best, the rinderpest sweeps them away; horses that promise well fall before horse-sickness; and no one can adequately provide against the long droughts. And when the natives are the most hopeful of the effects of white rule, they would tell us, they are the most grievously disappointed.

There is a little bit of history in 1872 very much overlooked by writers on South Africa, but never forgotten by the natives to this day. It was found that the possession of guns was a greater inducement to the Zulu or Basuto to work in the diamond mines of Kimberley than the mere offer of wages, and so the employer gave guns in exchange for labour.

The guns probably justified the assurance given to the State that the weapons were more dangerous to the users than to any one else, but this was not the point. There came a day when the Government realised the danger of arming the natives, and the guns were recalled, but no compensation was given to the men who had received guns in lieu of money, and thus their lawful wages were withheld from them.

Thirty-three years have passed since Natal was convulsed and feeling ran high with regard to Langalibalele and his trial, and perhaps to-day it is easier to judge impartially of what happened than it was at the time, yet judgment will not be accurately given unless we remember one essential point in native tribal custom.

If a man or a tribe goes away from his chief, crosses the border of his dominion and puts himself under the rule of another chief, the former chief has no further control over him. As far as he is concerned the fugitive is dead, the privileges, obligations, and protection of the tribe can touch him no longer.

Of his own will he has fled, and no one can follow him; from henceforth he belongs not to his old chief and tribe, but to the new chief to whom he has gone, and all the original ties are broken on each side. This is a fundamental part of tribal law which it is understood was amalgamated with British law when the Governor became the Supreme Chief.

It is necessary to remember this in order to read intelligently all that happened. The guns that were paid in return for labour in the mines were recalled, and a certain chief, Langalibalele, was summoned to appear before the Governor. It is an old story now—so old that those whose interest in South Africa only started with the war will never have heard it—but it may be read in ‘A Soldier’s Life and Work in South Africa,’ in the ‘Life of Bishop Colenso,’ and in the Blue-Books of the period. It ended in an intervention from the Secretary of State, which many had forgotten when, in 1906, Lord Elgin sent his famous telegram to the Governor of Natal; but in truth it is a story which has not

yet ended, and which never will end till all feel that justice has been done and fears removed.

In 1873 there was a scare in Natal, the Government feared that Langa's tribe would rise in rebellion, and Langelibalele feared that if he trusted himself to the English his life would be forfeited. So, instead of coming, he offered a fine which was refused; then he sent mounted men to Maritzburg with a bag of gold as an earnest of what was to follow, but the messengers came back saying that this was rejected, and that the Government force, with the Supreme Chief at its head, and accompanied by the Secretary for Native Affairs, was on their track.

Then Langelibalele waited no longer: bewilderment and distrust ended in fear; and on November 3, 1873, the chief, with the main body of his tribe, crossed the borders of the Natal colony, so as to be no longer by Kafir law under the Supreme Chief—i.e., the Lieutenant-Governor.

But the military force followed them, and much happened that is not pleasant reading.

We lay down Major Durnford's record and echo his words, "What will England say?"

What did England say?

One man took care that England should know, and that man was Bishop Colenso.

The chief [he wrote] has been deposed by proclamation, his tribe ravaged, hundreds of men killed and many hundreds more imprisoned, many women and children killed, and thousands taken captive, and announced in the 'Gazette' as doomed to three years of forced servitude; his kraals all burnt, his family dispersed, his goats and oxen and horses, as many as could be seized, confiscated and sold by the Government,—and all by the simple word of the Supreme Chief, without any trial, without any inquiry whether the facts had been correctly reported. . . . If this court is merely summoned to consider whether he has been already *justly* punished, . . . I have nothing more to say on this point. But he cannot be fined to a greater extent when he has lost all and been deprived of his land, his power, his people, and his property, and he stands a desolate, ruined, sorrow-stricken man, stripped to the very rags he wears, and by much hardship (dragged as he has been, mostly on horseback, handcuffed all the way, 250 miles, from Basutoland to Natal, and here imprisoned in a solitary cell) reduced to utter wretchedness. If, under these circumstances, the court overrules my objection, and decides to

consider what further punishment should be inflicted on him, I protest on his behalf against such a proceeding, and appeal to her Gracious Majesty the Queen against the acts of her representative in Natal.

He did so appeal, coming to England for the purpose, and his report can now be read in a Blue-Book-(C. 1141).

Frequent intercourse with Lord Carnarvon was not without result. The Colonial Office recognised his services, defrayed his expenses, and reconsidered what had been done. Lord Carnarvon said—

I will frankly own that I had strained my own sense of what is due to the justice of the case to the uttermost, out of consideration for the feelings and difficulties of the South African colonists. . . . I had brought myself to advise the Crown to reverse or modify the action of the Colonial Governments in South Africa in no greater degree than justice as well as public opinion absolutely demands.

According to the arrangement thus made, Langalibalele was not to be allowed to return to Natal, but was to receive a location in Cape Colony, where he with his tribe might live in freedom like any other subjects of the



Queen; and cattle, agricultural implements, and other necessities would be supplied to them. This decision of her Majesty was to be conveyed to the chief officially by Mr Shepstone.

Then follows a chapter in Cape history which it is difficult for a plain Englishman to read and accept. Lord Carnarvon had invited the co-operation of the Cape Government in his decision concerning Langalibalele, and this is declined, and thus a serious complication ensued.

What became of the promises made in the Queen's name? The despatches insisted that "every care should be taken to obviate (for the members of the tribe) the hardships and to mitigate the severities which, assuming the offence of the chief and his tribe to be even greater than I have estimated it, have far exceeded the limits of justice." But no such care was taken. The chief was not released, though his place of banishment was changed, and in 1887 he was brought back to Natal by Sir Arthur Havelock, and was still a pauper and a prisoner.

And so we find Bishop Colenso writing to Mr Froude that through this policy the name of Englishman was fast "becoming in the native mind the synonym for duplicity, treachery, and violence, instead of, as in days gone by, for truth and justice and righteousness."

But it may be said, Why bring all this up now, when it happened so long ago, and is quite forgotten?

That is just the point, and it is because it is not forgotten by the natives themselves that it is well that we in England should realise these things.

Talking to a Zulu in this year 1906, we find that the Zulus connect the troubles in Natal of this time with the case of Langalibalele. If we can clearly understand a matter, we believe as Englishmen that, as far as lies within our power, justice will always be done to all; and nothing could be better put than the Zulu's definition: "The law under which I was born is the law of the English people; the law under which any one who is wronged by somebody

else, has some one to inquire on his behalf and to protect him."

But we must remember that if England is to deserve that character, she must act up to it: it must not be possible for a Government official to say that distinct pledges were made in the nation's name which are now disregarded. Marengo, the disarmed Hottentot chief, said in detailing the causes of the revolt against the Germans: "Great nations, when they come to this country, should not leave their laws behind them," and as Englishmen we have no wish to leave our laws behind us.

But we must proceed with the history of recent events. Bambata, with his rebellious followers, was pursued by the military force, and Dinuzulu was suspected (without just reason) of sympathising with the rebels; but from the first Mr. Saunders, Commissioner of the Province of Zululand, was confident of his loyalty. It must be remembered that Dinuzulu is son of Cetewayo; and there is a certain dignity in this message which he sent:—

## UNREST IN NATAL

I am not surprised that the Natal Government should have doubt as to my loyalty in face of repeated and constant accusations to the contrary effect which have been levelled against me throughout South Africa. I can only say I am perfectly loyal, and am most anxious to give proof of this in any way the Government may wish. I have assured you of my loyalty by words and actions repeatedly, but apparently this is doubted, and I now ask that Government suggest means by which my loyalty can be proved absolutely, and finally dispel the slurs which have been cast upon me, and which I keenly resent. I am perfectly ready to turn out the whole of my people, and send them to Nkandhla at once to operate in any manner you may think fit either in entering the forest and capturing this dog Bambata, who has been allowed to enter Zululand and disturb the peace which we enjoyed even long after Natal natives had openly shown disloyalty. As you know, I am physically incapable of leading my people in person, being unable to move with freedom from my bed, but the impi would go down in charge of my chief induna, Mankulwane, and I myself am prepared to be conveyed to Nongoma and remain there alone with the magistrate, whilst my people are operating in any way they may be required as proof of my good faith in this matter. If Government say they wish me to go to Nkandhla, I will find means to reach there notwithstanding the state of my health. If this assurance is not sufficient, I am sure that Govern-

ment will indicate what is necessary for further proof of loyalty to our king.

Then come a few particulars with regard to the poll-tax, and a letter which shows that the murder of Mr Stainbank was in all probability an isolated case of brutality, and not part of a system of rebellion.

The GOVERNOR to the SECRETARY OF STATE.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, PIETERMARITZBURG,  
NATAL, *May* 12, 1906.

MY LORD,—The question of the imposition and collection of poll-tax has been so misunderstood, that I think it my duty to call your Lordship's attention to a question asked in the House of Assembly as to the numbers of the different races who are liable to pay this tax, and how much up to date has been collected from each. From the reply you will observe that the Europeans and Indians combined who are liable were calculated to be in excess of the Kafirs, and that the collections up to date have been satisfactory.—I have, &c.,

HENRY MCCALLUM.

ENCLOSURE in No. 41.

'The Natal Witness,' May 10, 1906.

POLL-TAX.

Mr Brunner asked the Treasurer—

(a) How many natives are liable to pay poll-tax?

- (b) How many have paid ?
- (c) How many Europeans are liable ?
- (d) How many have paid ?
- (e) How many Indians are liable ?
- (f) How many have paid ?

The reply was—

The exact number of persons who are liable to pay poll-tax cannot be ascertained, but when the Bill to provide for the poll-tax was brought before the House, I estimated the amount which would be received at £100,000, made up as follows: Europeans, 30,000; Indians, 20,000; natives, 50,000.

The amount received up to the 30th April, 1906, is approximately £100,000—viz., Europeans, £30,000; Indians and other coloured races, £24,100; natives, £46,000. Total, £100,000.

It is estimated that a sum of about £15,000 is still outstanding, principally from natives.

It must be remembered that the poll-tax was not to be enforced till May 31, and this amount was paid prior to that date.

THE MAGISTRACY, EMPANDHLENI, NKANDHLA DISTRICT,  
May 8, 1906.

SIRS,—The arrival of Colonel McKenzie to assume command here appears a convenient period up to which to combine the narrative of events detailed in my despatch of 28th ultimo.

The general political situation in this province has undergone little change since then, except that the result of Mankulumana's visit to this part has, if not entirely, in a very great measure, dispelled the idea that Dinuzulu is in any way associated with Bambata's movements or the

present rebellion in these parts, which is still confined to Sigananda's tribe and factions of neighbouring tribes mentioned in my previous despatch.

Some activity has been displayed by the forces stationed here. Colonel Mansel, with the police and other details, has for some days past occupied a position near Fort Yolland, and in like manner Major Vanderplank, with the Z.M.R. and N.D.M.R., has occupied a position at Ntingwe, whilst Colonel M'Kay, with the Natal Carbineers, has defended this post.

Colonel M'Kay has cleared the immediate neighbourhood of this magistracy of rebel kraals under Sigananda and seized some stock. His force has come in touch with the enemy on one or two occasions, and on the 2nd instant was reported to have killed some four or five of them.

Major Vandeplank's force has also come in touch with parties of the enemy, and is reported to have killed some two or three.

Colonel Mansel had a very severe and most successful engagement with the enemy in the vicinity of their headquarters on the 5th instant, and from all accounts killed a considerable number of them.

Mr. Spainbank, magistrate, Mahlabatini, was brutally murdered near his camp on the White Impoloz, near where he was collecting hut-tax, on the 3rd instant. All indications point to this being a cold-blooded murder, and not connected with the political situation. Mr. Armstrong,

magistrate, Nongema, is investigating the matter with the assistance of the local chiefs and Dinuzulu's chief induna, Mankulumana, but up to the present no clue has been traced as to who the murderers are.—I have, &c.,

C. R. SAUNDERS,

*Commissioner for Native Affairs,  
Zululand.*

The Honourable The PRIME MINISTER,  
Pietermaritzburg.

Then comes a characteristic telegram, and we begin to learn that one of the qualities necessary for those who hold positions of authority in South Africa is calmness and indifference to a popular scare:—

There are many alarming rumours current that, crops having been gathered, rebellion in Zululand is about to spread on a large scale. Saunders, however, does not share alarm.—MCCALLUM.

There is no need to follow in detail the course of events. Early in June Bambata was killed, and the wildest reports are believed, and, as it will be seen, do much harm in causing the very unrest they fear.



MAGISTRATE, Melmoth, to COMMANDANT OF  
MILITIA, Pietermaritzburg.

*June 4, 1906.*—Information to hand which I consider absolutely correct, as follows:—

The whole Zulu nation is going to rise before the moon is on the wane. Dinuzulu has called up the Falaza, Mbogodebomvu, Felapogati, Railingwenfa and Mavadtana regiments, which are being doctored at present. Dinuzulu's message was that all had to arm and wait for the word within the next few days.

COMMISSIONER, NATIVE AFFAIRS, Nkandhla, to  
PRIME MINISTER, Pietermaritzburg.

*June 5, 1906.*—Have been in communication with Magistrates at Eshowe, Nongoma, and Mahlabatini this morning. They can detect absolutely no signs of unrest in their districts. Although wild rumours, can detect no sign of unrest there. Am keeping in constant touch with all up-country stations. Impossible anything in the shape of a general rising taking place without receiving definite warning. Messengers from Siteku here yesterday; can elicit nothing wrong from their conversation.

COMMISSIONER, NATIVE AFFAIRS, Nkandhla, to  
PRIME MINISTER, Pietermaritzburg.

*June 5, 1906.*—No. 40. Am still unable to discover any sign of unrest anywhere except at

Melmoth, and although, of course, reports of the nature received cannot be ignored at a time like the present, I have failed to find that there is any movement in those parts. Eshowe and Hlabisa report everything quiet. The loyal chief Ngode, in Mahlabatini district, who would be the first to suffer if Dinuzulu rose in rebellion, scouts the idea of Siteku being disloyal, and, in fact, is coming down here on his own initiative to see me in a day or two. Were anything wrong up there I don't think it likely that he would be willing to leave his district at the present time. Have received no reply from Dinuzulu yet, but sent down to him this evening saying I must have a reply at once.

COMMISSIONER, NATIVE AFFAIRS, Nkandhla, to  
PRIME MINISTER, Pietermaritzburg.

*June 7, 1906. 8.40 P.M.*—I have been unable to discover that there is any justification for the state of alarm which has existed in Melmoth district for the last two or three days, and has now spread to Eshowe, from which latter place, I hear to-night, people have been ordered into laager. Beyond that, certain personages who have passed through those places within the last day or two, and who are imbued with the absolute conviction that a general native rising must take place before the wane of the present moon, which, it must be remembered, was full last night, have imparted those convictions to certain people in the two places named. This is not only unfortunate, but it is

most serious, as the native cannot understand why this state of alarm should exist, and will naturally think it is pointed against them as a whole. I cannot understand what good is to be gained by alarming people in this way unless we are in a position to afford protection, and we are not able to do so now; but the fact remains that Melmoth and Eshowe districts are practically in a state of panic, which already has had a far-reaching effect throughout this province, and which, in my opinion, is quite unjustified. I have said over and over again that a general rising cannot take place without our receiving some due warning of it, and so far as I can gauge the situation at present, we are in far more danger of such a rising being initiated by ourselves than our supposed enemies.

The concluding sentence is worthy of note. Did the Commissioner when he wrote it remember his evidence two years before and our broken faith with Zululand?

The story is almost told, and the official telegrams point to a state of feverish interest.

The SECRETARY OF STATE to the GOVERNOR.

*July 16.*—Following appears in to-day's 'Daily Mail':—

*Begins:* Johannesburg, Sunday, July 15.  
'The Sunday Times' declares that 3000

natives were killed in Natal after the Mome Valley fight. Loyal levies killed the wounded and thrust assegais into the dead. Bambata's head was cut off by Dr Platt, exhibited for two days, and then buried. Major Nicolay, of the Transvaal Light Infantry, in a letter to a friend at Johannesburg, says that no quarter is given in the campaign. Troops are searching through the country, shooting any natives who appear, burning their kraals, driving their cattle, and firing the grass whenever it will burn.

Other private letters indicate that some of the troops are sickened at the slaughter and the shooting of the prisoners when the camps are moved. *Ends.*

Important that you should telegraph at once fullest information as regards each of the very serious statements here categorically made. I have every confidence that you will enable me to deny them absolutely, or at least to show that they are based on gross exaggeration.—ELGIN.

The GOVERNOR to the SECRETARY OF STATE.

*July 17.*—I have laid your telegram of 16th July before Ministers, who desire me to send to you the following reply:—

*Begins:* It is not the case that 3000 natives had been killed in Natal since the Mome fight, as the total number of the killed throughout the whole of the operations is only 3500, *vide*

return given in Your Excellency's telegram, No. 1, of to-day. Government has received no information that the wounded were killed by the native levies. It is, of course, possible that levies away from the observation of the European officers may have killed the badly wounded, and it would be quite impossible to prevent it, but the Commandant of Militia is certain that this has not been done during the present rebellion to the same extent as in former times. During the Zulu war it was common knowledge that the British native levies did kill the wounded, and, to take one example, at the battle of the Inyazine it was reported both by Europeans and natives that the greater proportion of the wounded had been killed, and that very few, if any, prisoners were taken. Government has received following report relative to the decapitation of Bambata :—

*Begins :* It was intimated to the Officer Commanding the troops that the dead body of Bambata was lying at the bottom of a gorge about 2000 feet below the camp; and as it was most essential that it should be ascertained definitely whether Bambata was really killed or not, Major Platt, Natal Medical Corps, with a number of natives, was sent down to bring up the body for the purpose of identification. On reaching the spot where the body lay, it was found to be

in an advanced stage of decomposition, and as the natives refused to carry it to camp, decapitation was absolutely necessary to ensure definite identification by responsible persons acquainted with Bambata. The head was not exhibited but was kept covered and in privacy under an armed guard, and was only shown to persons who stated that they knew Bambata intimately and would be able to recognise him. When the identification was complete and it was proved beyond doubt that the head was that of Bambata, it was returned to the spot and interred with the body. *Ends.*

The statement that the troops gave no quarter is untrue, and this is proved by the fact that about 2000 rebel prisoners, as far as can be at the present time ascertained, are now in custody. The enemy's wounded have been attended where possible by the medical staff. In some cases the wounded, having been attended to, were left on the field to be taken care of by their friends. Troops are searching the country, but rebels are being given every opportunity to surrender. Burning the kraals has been strictly forbidden except when military exigencies require it. Cattle belonging to rebels has been taken by troops on behalf of Government, but not as private loot. The point with regard to the firing of grass is not understood, as this is

a common practice throughout the Colony at this time of the year. The Officer Commanding troops denies absolutely the truth of the allegation that prisoners were shot when breaking up camp. *Ends.*

Please hand copy of this reply to Agent-General for Natal, who has telegraphed to Ministers for information.—MCCALLUM.

The GOVERNOR to the SECRETARY OF STATE.

*July 19.*—Referring to my telegram of July 17, in confirmation of emphatic denial by Officer Commanding the troops that prisoners had ever been shot when moving camp, the only charge connected with such allegation has been disposed of by properly constituted Court of Inquiry. The evidence is clear that the said prisoners were shot, not in or near camp at all, but when *en route*, attempting to escape from custody of an escort who were leading their horses in very rough country, and who only acted in accordance with recognised military procedure.—MCCALLUM.

And there the official records end. Truly, it is no easy or enviable thing to be a Governor!

What was England's verdict?

This is a difficult question to answer, for nothing is so hard to distinguish clearly as

contemporary history ; the man who is in the wood can only see the immediate trees which surround him.

But one thing happened which is a curious repetition of the events of 1873. One man was not satisfied with the official verdict, and he did not hesitate to say so, and again he was a Cornish man and a bishop.

The Bishop of Zululand demanded an inquiry into the treatment of prisoners, and after the telegrams of July 17 and 19, he still maintained that the Court of Inquiry was not properly constituted, as it consisted chiefly of military men who had taken part in the proceedings.

Now before any one blames the bishop hastily, it is well to remember one thing. We were not fighting against a foreign foe, our colonial force was punishing rebellious subjects ; the subjects, if rebellious, were still British subjects, and so the theory that at all risks we must uphold our own people does not apply here, for on both sides were our own people, and therefore that greatly mis-



used word Imperialism demanded justice as much for one side as for the other.

We are not saying that justice and the laws of military procedure are not to be observed in the case of a foreign foe; we are only pointing out that in this instance there was no foreign foe, and therefore, according to English law, "any one who is wronged by somebody else, has some one to inquire on his behalf and to protect him," and British subjects have the Government to inquire on their behalf, and the Church's children have the rulers of the Church.

At this period a silence falls, and it is left to another pen at a future time to say how it all ended, and what was the verdict of each race in a question that is no longer one of colour but of conduct.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### CONCLUSION.

THEN what is the conclusion at which we arrive after considering the involved tangle of South Africa?

Some will say one thing and some another, and many will answer that it always has been a difficult country and always will be, and it is best not to trouble ourselves much about it; but there is an uncomfortable suggestion in the air that we must trouble ourselves now, or possibly events will take place on so large a scale that England will for a time have little voice in the conduct of South Africa.

It is well to remember the opinion of the magistrate who said that the problems ahead made him almost afraid to think.

Yet some will say that it is primarily a

matter for the Government; and they will speak truly, for on the Government lies the responsibility of seeing that the promises made in the name of the Sovereign are fulfilled, so that no man may ever say that England has given pledges which have not been kept.

But if the evidence given before the Commission means anything, it surely means this—that the honour of England is a trust which every Englishman in South Africa has to keep unsullied, while for those who dwell at home it may be remembered that, after all, public opinion rules the world.

“What will England say?” a soldier in Africa asked thirty-three years ago; and we ask the same question now. Africa calls us back to the land of light and colour, to catch the gleam that is never forgotten, and to bask in the endless sunshine; to the laughter and light-heartedness that lived before the war; to the shimmering golden light on Africa’s sunset sand, strewn with shells and seaweed in their hues of splendour; and the man who has once heard that call cannot resist it.

Are we to get much from South Africa and to give little?

The voice of the old men is heard,—the wise old men who put honour before gain, the wise old men who mean that England shall stand for justice and righteousness,—and they say that the country must learn a little history and be true to herself; and perhaps, after all, it is not too late for the African chiefs still to desire to be under the rule of King Edward the Seventh, when we take care, in the words of the Zulu, that “the Almighty shall be at the head of all things.”

. . . . .

Once more we stand alone—alone, looking across hundreds of miles of African landscape.

The Drakensberg Mountains rise to heaven, shaded with hues of inexpressible beauty, and everywhere there is silence—deep, deep silence: never a bird, a sheep, or an insect; no pleasant sound of nibbled grass, no distant suggestion of pastured herds. And there is no sign of human life, unless at rare intervals across the scene comes a little band of red Kafirs in graceful single file, stepping

swiftly in their splendid upright bearing, and carrying long sticks.

For how many hundreds of years have they so walked, and what are the traditions and principles which guide their customs? . Who were their leaders and warriors in the days long ago, when no white men contended for the possession of their country and the tribal system reigned supreme?

Silence—deeper silence than ever, for they wait for an interpreter who shall make England's policy clear to them, and insure respect and consideration from the mother country to all that is dear to them from long association and inheritance.

This is South Africa, and as the picture grows clearer we realise that the silence will not always last.

This is the land marked in coloured maps as a British possession, and the question is suggested, "Does our intelligence possess in any degree what our arms have gained?"

The thin red line has passed out of sight leaving us sole masters of the landscape and the great silent land, so that there is a pos-

sible time for our intelligence to overtake our power before the Kafirs come back in their numbers.

. . . . .

Has Africa nothing to say, no bitter cry to send over the five thousand miles of sea to those who are so willing to make out a cause?

We can only answer by a simile.

You have seen a little child who has cried for something till in sheer weariness and despair he has cried himself to sleep. By-and-by the mother will come and take the child into her arms and kiss his tear-stained cheek, and when he awakes his tears will change to smiles; for to the mother-heart the silence that has sobbed out its grief is a more pitiful appeal than any sound,—and the silent cry of Africa will be heard at last.

. . . . .

Again the scene is changed.

Clattering hoofs, and rattling of bits against a long bar as we take the last stage beneath an African sunset sky; before the daylight dies we shall be safely housed, and the stars will come out in their myriads in the mighty

blue vault overhead, and the Southern Cross will show more brightly through contrast with the Coal Pit; and the silence will be deep—intense.

But another day lies before us, and with the sunrise comes Hope, ever youthful, and we shall go forward to meet him, strong in the possibilities that lie ahead, and, stretching forth our hands towards men of another race but the same empire, we shall show the world that conduct and character form the true worth of a nation, while we echo the wish to remain under the “rule of his Majesty the King, with the Almighty at the head of all things.”

THE END.

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